



IRISH 1798 COLLECTION

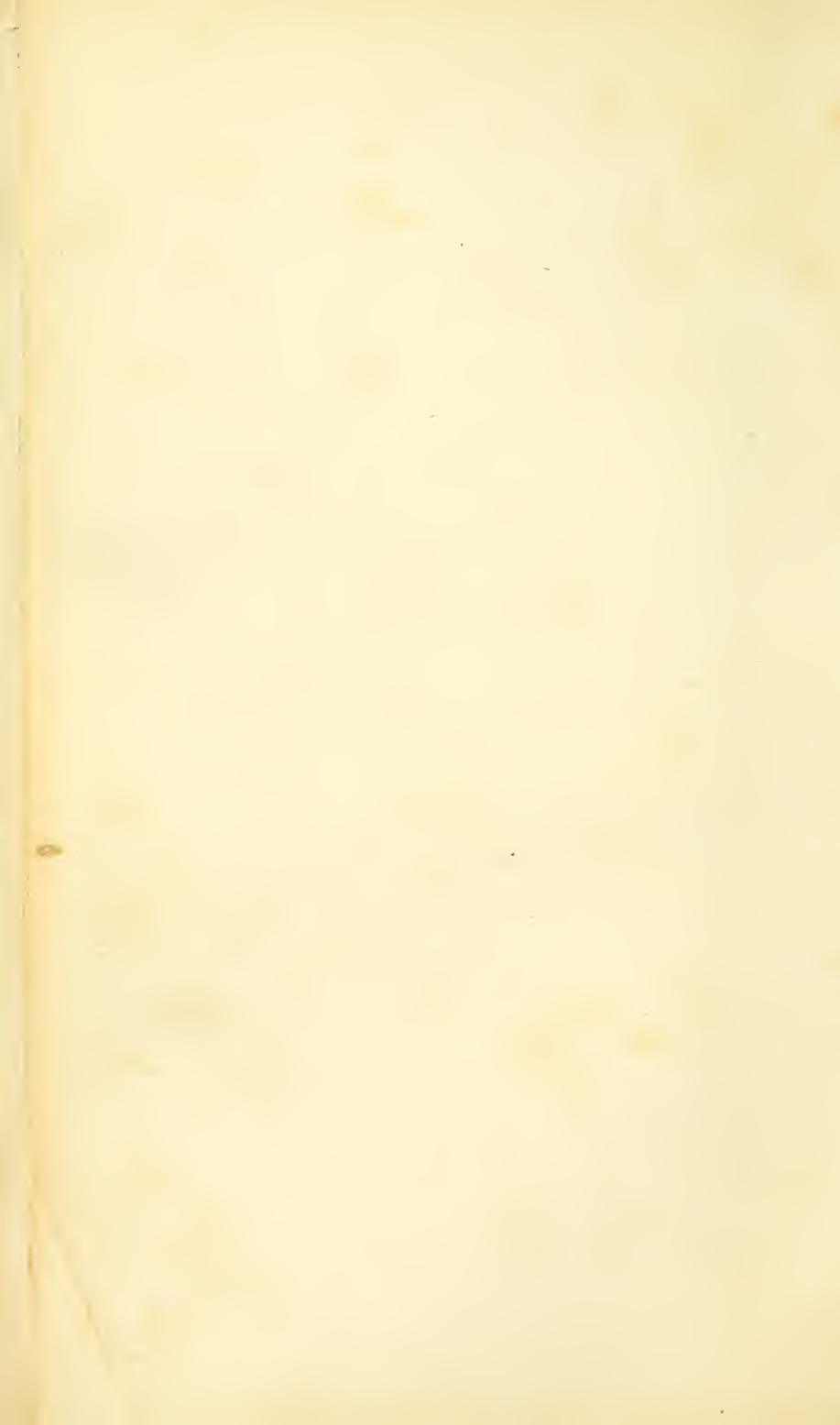




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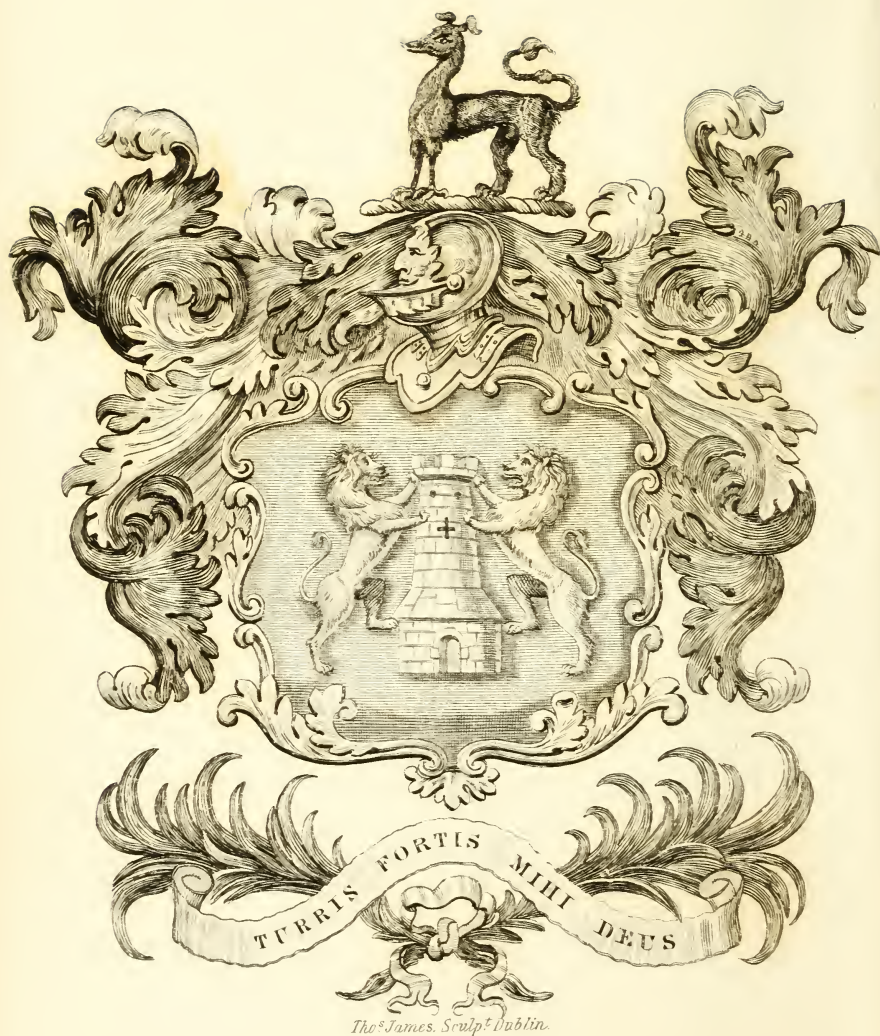
Painted by P. J. Kelly

Engr'd by Tho: James Dutton

*I am most faithfully  
your devoted Servt.*

*Pat: Kelly*





*Tho<sup>s</sup> James. Sculp<sup>t</sup> Dublin.*

## THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF O' KELLY.

† THE FOUR MASTERS. A.D. 1394. P. 733.

# HISTORY OF IRELAND,

SINCE THE EXPULSION

OF

JAMES II. BY HIS SON-IN-LAW WILLIAM III.  
PRINCE OF ORANGE.

THIS WORK COMMENCES WITH A.D. 1692, AND ENDS WITH 1855.

BY

PATRICK O'KELLY, ESQ.

TRANSLATOR OF ABBE MAC GEORGE'S HISTORY OF IRELAND, AND  
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION OF 1798.

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"Incorrupta fides nudaque veritas,"  
i.e. Pure honor and naked truth.

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HOR. ODE 24.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

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79 MARLBOROUGH-STREET.

1855.



## PREFACE TO VOL. IV.

VIZ. THE CONTINUATION OF ABBÉ MAC GEOGHEGAN.

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WE now conclude the History of Ireland, with an obvious and convincing remark, from a modern author :—

“The Prince of Orange would have thought himself but half king, were he not to rule over Ireland, as well as over England and Scotland ; or rather, he looked upon Ireland as belonging to him by right of conquest, and the loyalty of the Irish to James the II. as an act of high treason that he should not leave unpunished ; still, what right had this Prince to a country which had not called him to her aid ? It is admitted, that he reigned lawfully over England and Scotland, because these kingdoms had transferred their crown to him, but of which they had no right to dispose ; however, could they make an agreement for a distinct people, and against the will of that people ? Let William the III. govern those parts of Great Britain that acknowledge no longer their Kings, but if Ireland do not wish him for her Sovereign, is her chosen and first Sovereign to forget his claim, and are his faithful subjects to be dealt with as traitors and rebels to their country ? It will be said, that James the II. sapped the foundation of the monarchy by obstinately favouring the Papists, and by an arbitrary sway of power. However false this accusation may be, I shall pass it over in silence ; it concerns only England and Scotland, which have taken

## PREFACE.

ample advantages of it. Was Ireland in the same situation? And if then this people wished to continue Papists, if they desired to invest their King with an absolute authority, who has a right to prevent them? The world has seen that England and Scotland dethroned James II., and that Ireland refused to follow their example; Ireland would have erred in her allegiance, if the whole of Great Britain had belonged to William III. previously to the Revolution. On the contrary, William could not lawfully ascend the throne without an express law calling him to the succession, and declaring James to be dethroned; William III. therefore had no right or claim upon the Irish, who neither sent for him, nor dethroned their own King. But as we have already observed, he did not consider his kingdom complete without Ireland, where James II. still held out; but it has been the will of Providence that he should succeed in expelling him.

We discover nevertheless, by the manner in which the Irish are and have been treated, that it is contrary to the principles of the Magna Charta, that celebrated code in which the English nation glories, and of which they boast; the Irish are deprived of that liberty, which, according even to their oppressors, should be the portion and common-right of all mankind. They are forced to submit to a hateful and oppressive yoke; they have exerted themselves and fought in favour of their lawful prince; their resistance to usurpation is considered as rebellion, and the confiscation of their estates and properties is the consequence."—*Abbé Mac Geoghegan.*

## CONTINUATION

OF

## ABBÉ M'GEOGHEGAN'S HISTORY OF IRELAND.

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THE translator of this celebrated historian begs respectfully to inform his countrymen, that he has written with intense care, and has now ready for the press, a work to fill the chasm of 164 years, since the Treaty of Limerick, to the present day : numbers among the Irish are well informed how William III., Prince of Orange, and who dethroned his father-in-law, James the II., our legitimate king, violated that solemn compact so nobly won by the valour of our ancestors. The estates of the Irish were literally robbed from them, to satiate his Dutch and English followers with the fortunes of the Irish people. Their religion was trampled upon, their valiant defenders, known to every ear as the Irish Brigade, were forced to become exiles in a foreign land ; their privations and wrongs have descended upon us their posterity.

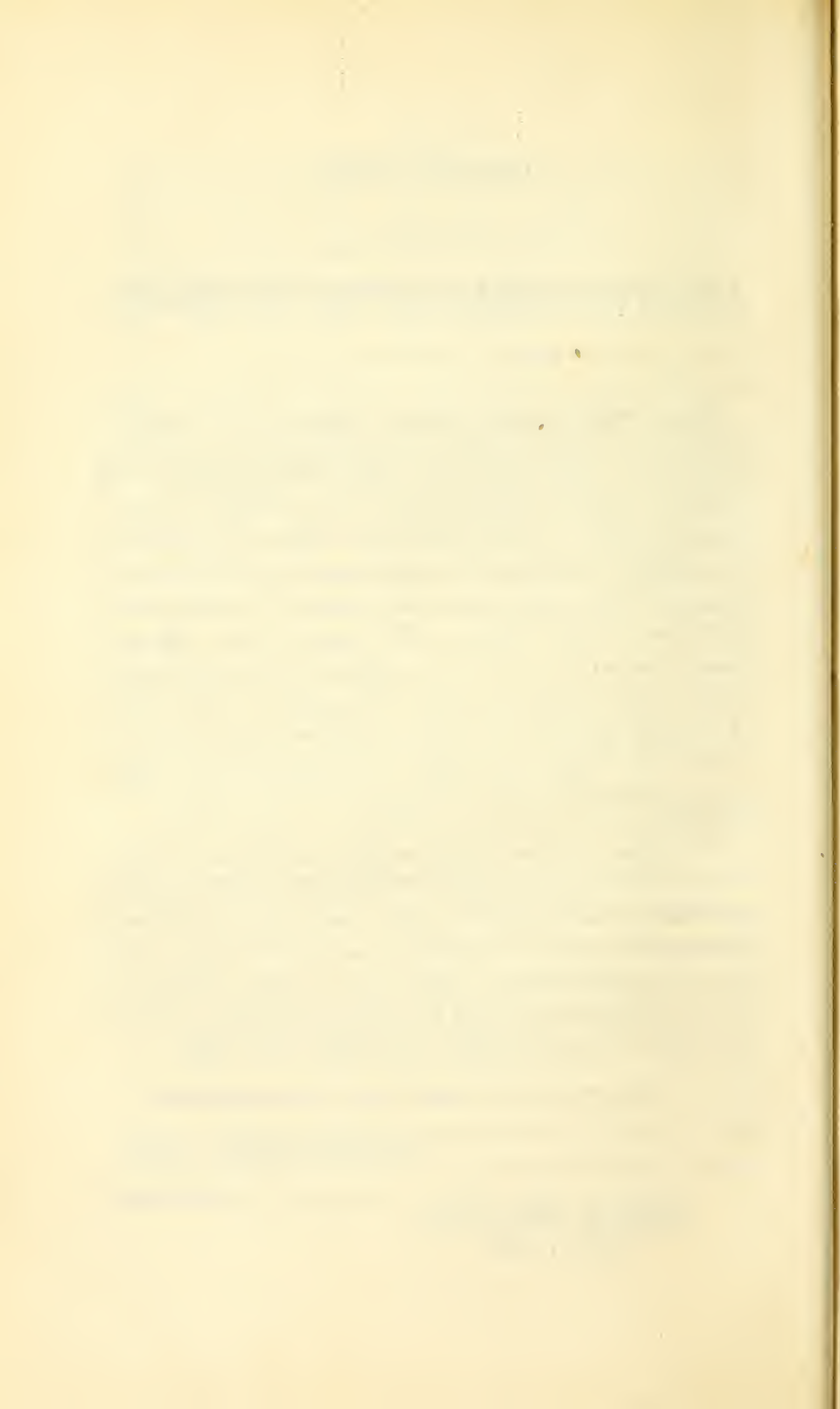
The reigns of Queen Anne, successor to William, and those of all the Georges, I., II., III., IV., and William IV., together with the present dynasty that rules over us, are portrayed with an unsparing hand, in this volume ready to come forth. It will be in 8vo. size, containing 500 pages ; the paper and type will be of the best quality : it will be neatly bound in cloth, at 5s., one to be paid in advance to aid in the purchase of the paper.

I am, with great respect for my fellow-countrymen,

Their faithful, humble servant,

P. O'KELLY.

*Dublin, 30, Richmond-place,  
May 1st, 1855.*



# HISTORY OF IRELAND.

## CHAPTER I.

The light in which Ireland is viewed by the English.—The causes assigned by the English and Irish Parliaments for further confiscations.—The reply of William Prince of Orange, when asked to grant more confiscations.—The promoters of discord, and those who sought the properties of the Irish.—Lord Sydney Viceroy: He demands money supplies.—The Chancellor's opposition to the demands from England.—More Penal Laws enacted: the exportation of Wool prohibited, the number of Acres confiscated in the second transfer of property.—Death of William Prince of Orange. Anne succeeds to the Throne.—Loyalty of the Irish Catholics to James II.—The length of time which intervened since Ireland submitted to England.—Partial submission of Ireland to English rule.—The reign of Queen Anne. Henry II., Richard I., M'Murrough King of Leinster.—Queen Anne's Age, her attachment to the Protestant Religion. Surrender of Gibraltar to the English.—The trade of Ireland excited the jealousy of England.—Persecutions of the Irish continued, misrepresentations encouraged by Government.—The numbers who emigrated to France. Penal Laws and the oath of abjuration.—Mr. Burke's exposure of British misrule.—Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant. The Pretender, a reward of £50,000 offered for his arrest.—Queen Anne.—Some of the Queen's Ministry opposed to the Hanoverian succession: Death of Queen Anne.—Reign of George I. a rebellion headed by the Earl of Mar, broke out in North Britain.—The Penal Laws rigidly put in force by George I., cruel and flagitious treatment of Catholic Priests.—An Armament having 12,000 men on board, to restore the Pretender, put in motion by Spain.—Ireland inundated with a spurious Copper Coinage.

FROM the victory obtained over the Irish, by the Dutch invader invited by the English to dethrone and expel the last of the Stuart race, England has looked upon Ireland as her's by right of conquest. This sad usurper acquiesced in all their measures to oppress the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, by cruel and severe laws. The treaty of Limerick,\* wrested from the English by the noble defenders of that city, was violated in all its bearing and tendencies.

In order to appropriate to themselves the remaining estates of the Irish, which had escaped confiscation, and to conciliate the concurrence of their newly adopted

\* Abbé Mac Geoghegan, Vol. III. O'Kelly's Edition.

King, falsehood and calumnies were incessantly circulated, to divert William's mind not only from adhering to the treaty of Limerick, but also to view with his English subjects the Irish people as a degraded and conquered nation.

To furnish a pretext for confiscating the \* small remnant of Irish property that remained, it was advanced that the expenses incurred by the war in Ireland, should be raised from sales of the few Estates to be found among the Irish Catholics, as a necessary consequence for their having supported the cause of the unfortunate King James against his rebellious subjects of England, and this usurpation of his son-in-law Prince of Orange.

The war upon the Continent against France peculiarly engrossed the anxiety of the Prince of Orange, and his allies, so that his whole care for its success, after his war in Ireland had ceased, was centered in it ; and he became regardless how the Irish people might be treated by his Protestant subjects of England and Ireland. The latter had been so satiated with the plunder torn from the Catholics ever faithful, "*ubique fideles*," to their legitimate King, that the parliament of England engrossed to themselves the privilege of dictating laws to be applied for the rule and oppressive government of the Irish Roman Catholic people.

Remonstrances were forwarded, against this attack upon their rights, by the Irish House of Commons : however, William continued obsequious to the unjust demands of both, and every measure suggested to oppress the Irish still more and more were listened to. William's words to both English and Irish remonstrances were, "I shall always have great consideration of what comes from the House of Commons, and I shall always take great care that what is amiss shall be remedied."

\* "*Finibus e propriis, agri cultoribus actis,  
Castra, urbes, portus, subdulus hostishabet.*"

"*O'Kelly's Historica descriptio Hiberniæ.*"

*Translated.*—The tillers of the soil being driven from their confines, the crafty enemy is in possession of the camp, the cities, and their harbours.

The Irish Protestant party, at the disastrous period of William's arrival amongst them, were principally the descendants of the Cromwellians ; this name above all others, from their destructive prototype and predecessor Oliver Cromwell, was most painful and abhorrent to the minds of the Irish Catholics.\*

Their descendants are now considered to be the promoters of civil discord and orangeism, and to them is attributed the disunion so widely disseminated and sustained by our rulers. By a spirit of national union and unanimity, the demoniac principle of strife and discord could be still subdued and peace restored to the land : such principles alone can render Ireland prosperous and free. "*Concordiâ resparvæ crescunt, discordiâ maxumæ dilabuntur.*"—*Sall.*

Lord Sidney who had been created Lord Lieutenant, convened a parliament, the first that sat during twenty-six years, except the one under James II. This assembly of the Commons were opposed to grant to William's demands and want of money, any larger sum than £70,000 : they pleaded the inability of the people to pay : at the same time alleging that the English parliament should not prescribe laws for them to follow. This unbending obstinacy of the Irish parliament gave Lord Sydney deep umbrage, and he said, when proroguing it, that they merited severe castigation, mentioning likewise, that they ought to send a deputation to *ask pardon of the Prince of Orange for their riotous and seditious conduct* : from this arose the recall of Lord Sydney.

A new parliament being convened, the severe rebuke pronounced by Sydney for having refused further supplies, influenced the next assembled House to acquiesce in further demands coming from the English cabinet. Notwithstanding courtly influence, Charles Porter, who was then Chancellor of Ireland, nobly stood up in his

\* Pastor, ovile vides, extingui fraude luporum ?

Oh Shepherd ! do you see the sheepfold effaced by rapacious wolves ?

place in parliament, to advocate the cause of the suffering Catholics and boldly opposed further infringements on the treaty and articles of Limerick. This laudable advocacy was repugnant to the ruling party, and consequently Sir Charles Porter was superseded in the Chancellorship. Penal Laws were immediately enacted, and among them, "one was to restrain foreign education." "Another to disarm the Papists." Third, "to banish all those exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction." Fourth, "to interdict Protestants intermarrying with Papists." Fifth, "to prevent Papists from being solicitors." Protestant ascendancy became paramount to every consideration regarding these and other Penal Laws inflicted upon the suffering and oppressed Roman Catholics of Ireland. Far different from such tyranny were the words of Queen Dido\* to the exiled Trojans.

Mr. Mollineux, member for the University of Dublin, published at that time an able disquisition on the wrongs and sufferings of Ireland, which he closed with strong inferences in support of the perfect and reciprocal independence of each kingdom.

This book was severely censured by both the English and the Irish Houses, and William was applied to and besought to order the suppression of all productions tending to disparage the connection of the two countries. The English legislature at that time prohibited the exportation of wool and woollen manufactures from Ireland, and heavy penalties were annexed to the prohibition. William as usual acceded to the manifest bigotry of his people; this as well as all his other acts had been extorted, knowing that he held his crown by parliamentary tenure.

Seventy-six grants of Lands had been bestowed by William on favourites, out of the forfeited estates, wrested from their true owners and possessors, to glut and satiate the descendants of Oliver Cromwell and others of the English race,\* with what had been in the

\* Tros, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Virg. *Æneid*.  
i. e. A Trojan and a Tyrian will be treated by me without distinction.

possession of Catholic families during centuries before : this unjust and rapacious transfer comprised the almost incredible number of one million, sixty-thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres, i.e., 1,060,792.

The people of England, everprone to seek everything pregnant with worldly advantages and the indulgence of the passions, readily shifted their allegiance from James II. to William from Holland, and from the son of James to George I. from Hanover ; they now beheld with gratification, that the second daughter of James, married to the Protestant Prince of Denmark, was to be their sovereign after William. Their religion, in accordance with the gratification of the senses, rendered the throne of these two rulers the more secure and less assailable. William's health had been impaired by the parliaments of England and Ireland having thwarted him in the measures which he thought to have pursued without controul. The unutterable calamities which he inflicted on the Irish, he knew well, could never be forgiven nor forgotten. His dissolution was soon brought on by a fall from his horse, by which his collar-bone had been fractured. He died in the fifty-second year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign. Henry II. and William, of disastrous memories to Ireland, were in their turn, scourges to the Irish nation. *Par nobile fratrum !*

#### THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

She was daughter of James II. and married to the Prince of Denmark. She and her brother the pretender were the last of the Stuarts. Anne succeeded to the throne of England, after the death of William in 1702. In the defence of her father, the Irish Catholics suffered proscription, confiscation and death, but now hoped, that his daughter would remove or alleviate the sufferings and wrongs inflicted on them for their attachment and

\* O pudor, O cunctis damnanda infamia sæclis ! *O'K's. Hist. descr. Hiber., p. 71.*

i. e. O shame, O infamy, which should be condemned by every age.

loyalty to the house of Stuart. To crown the climax of persecutions raised against them after the treaty of Limerick, and the violation of every article contained in it, favourable to the Irish Catholics, this prejudiced Queen sanctioned every measure proposed by a corrupt parliament to restrain them from the practice of their religion and in all their efforts to emerge from the hardships and spoliations consequent after the invasion of William her brother-in-law.\*

The Irish nation was doomed to suffer under every Stuart ; and the conduct of this female monarch towards them, carried the family ingratitude to the highest summit, as if to render the sufferings of the people for ever prostrate.

Queen Anne, who held her crown against the claims of her brother usually called the Pretender, by the tenure of Protestantism, readily yielded to the cries of Whigs and Tories, in order to oppress her Catholic subjects in Ireland. No crimes, no new offences, no attempt against her Government, were laid to their charge, and a new code of laws of unparalleled rigour, in addition to those enacted by William, was imposed upon this suffering people.†

Ireland's national spirit was depressed and by the heavy hand of arbitrary restraint, her Catholic population almost forgot their own existence.

More than six centuries had passed away, since Ireland first acknowledged a subordinate connexion with the English monarchy—her voluntary but partial submission to the sceptres of Henry and Richard and William had been construed by their successors into the

\* *Perdidimus natalesolum cælumque benignum,  
Pellimur ejecti patriâ regnoque domoque.*

*O'K's. Hist. descrip. Hiber.*

Barlow Vol. 1. p. 302.

*Translated.*—We have lost our native land and its propitious climate ; we are driven into exile from our country, our kingdom and our home.

\* *Posteritas audi, scelus exhorresce nefandum.*

*O'K's. Hist. descrip. Hiber., p. 70.*

“Hear, O posterity, shudder at her crime.

right of conquest, and the same spirit of turbulence and discord which generated the treachery and treason of Mac Murrough,\* was carefully cultivated by every English potentate, as the most effectual barrier against the struggles of a restless and semi-conquered people, and Ireland, helpless and distracted, groaned for ages in obscurity under the accumulated pressure of internal strife and external tyranny.

The precise nature of the original submission of the Irish Kings to the English Monarchy, remained, in those dark ages, doubtful and disregarded. Tyrannic measures of arbitrary power on the one side, and turbulent resistance to oppressive authority on the other, were the necessary consequences of an undefined connexion : even in more modern days, when the sword had ceased to be the arbiter of discussion, the constitutional basis of the federative compact remained still equivocal and undecided : and while the Irish nation insisted upon the rights of a distinct crown entailed upon the same dynasty, the English ministers indefatigably laboured to contract the connexion into the narrowest principles of colonial government.

Queen Anne was 38 years old when she succeeded to the throne of England ; she bore six children to her husband Prince of Denmark, all of whom she survived. 1701 witnessed the commencement of her reign ; the Countess of Marlborough was her attendant and adviser. She avowed herself at once zealously attached to the Protestant religion, and concurred in disinheriting her brother.

The war against France was warmly prosecuted by the Dutch and Anne Queen of England, whose generalissimo was the Duke of Marlborough : the Earl of Rochester was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. 1704, during the reign of Anne, is memorable for the taking and surrender of Gibraltar from the Spaniards, by the arms of England. In 1709 Sir Isaac Newton was professor of

† Prince of Leinster, residing in the castle of Ferns, had carried thither *Dervorgul*, the wife of O'Rorke Prince of Breffney, County Leitrim.

Mathematics in Oxford : during this year it was concerted to effect an union between England and Scotland.\* In 1707, France contemplated to enable the son of James II. to make a descent upon Scotland, preparations for that end were commenced at Dunkirk, and a French squadron collected. The Pretender took the name of the Chevalier de St. George ; and splendid equipments were furnished by France ; a British fleet was collected by Sir George Byng, and dispatched to intercept the expedition. Sir George Byng sailed for the Frith of Edinburgh ; the French fleet finding themselves frustrated by the English ships having arrived before themselves, sailed northward, but being pursued, a ship of theirs fell into the enemy's hands : the weather became very tempestuous, and the French Squadron commanded by M. de Forbin, returned, after a month, to Dunkirk.

The people of Scotland, called clans, would, it was believed, have joined the Pretender, and had been dissatisfied by the union between England and Scotland having been carried into a law.

But in whatever relative situation the two nations England and Ireland really stood, the same jealous and narrow principle might be perceived uniformly attending every measure enacted regarding the Irish people. If at any time a cheering ray of commercial advantage chanced for a moment to illuminate the dreary prospects of Ireland ; the sordid spirit of monopoly instantly arose in England, and rendered every effort to promote a beneficial trade, or advance a rival manufacture, vain and abortive.

Commercial jealousy and arbitrary government united therefore, to suppress every struggle of the Irish nation, and root up every seed of prosperity and civilization ; alarmed at the increasing population, the unsubdued spirit, and the inexhaustible resources of this strong and fertile land, a dread of her growing power excited a fallacious jealousy of her future importance. In her timidity or avarice England lost sight of her truest in-

\* Smollett's History by Hume, p. 206, 12mo.

terests, and of her nobler feelings ; and kings, usurpers and viceroys, as they respectively exercised the powers of government, all acted towards Ireland upon the same blind and arbitrary principles, which they had imbibed from their education, or inherited from their predecessors.\*

This desperate policy, so repugnant to the attachment and fatal to the repose of the two countries, excited the spirit of eternal warfare ; an enthusiastic love of national independence sharpened the sword, and the zealots of religious fanaticism threw away the scabbard ; the septs fought against each other, the English against all—the population was thinned, but the survivors became inveterate ; and though the wars and massacres of Elizabeth, William, Cromwell, and of '98, by depopulating, appeared to have subjugated the nation—the triumph was not glorious, and the conquest was not complete. Direct persecution against principles adds fuel to the conflagration. The persons of men may be coerced—but it is beyond the reach of human power to subdue the rooted hereditary passions and prejudices of a persevering, ardent, and patriotic people :—such a nation may be gained over by address, or seduced by dissimulation, but can never be reclaimed by force, or overcome by persecution—yet from the very first intercourse between the two countries, that destructive force and dissension, which so palpably led to the miseries of Ireland, had been sedulously encouraged and unremittingly persevered in.

Thus grievously oppressed and ruinously disunited, Ireland struggled often, but she struggled in vain ; the weight of her chains was too heavy for the feebleness of her constitution, and every effort to enlarge her liberty only gave a new pretext to the conqueror, to circumscribe it within a still narrower compass.

Expelli cœdique videt cumprole maritum  
Uxor et hos vendi ut mancipiale pecus.

*O'K's. Hist. descr. Hiber.*

\* The wife sees her husband banished, murdered with her children, and sold like beasts of burden.

On the same false principles of government, this oppressed nation was also systematically retained in a state of the utmost obscurity, and represented to the world as an insignificant and remote island, remarkable only for her turbulence and sterility ; and so perfectly did this misrepresentation prevail, that, while every republic and minor nation of Europe had become the theme of travellers and the subject of historians, Ireland was visited only to be despised, and spoken of only to be calumniated. In truth, she is as yet but little known to the rest of Europe, but particularly to the people of England : when the extraordinary capabilities, the resources, and the powers of Ireland are fully known, an interest must arise in every impartial breast, among foreigners as well as self-interested neighbours.

#### PENAL LAWS.

During the reign of Queen Anne, England attained greater prosperity and influence than she had acquired since the reign of Cromwell, but Ireland, by the ferocious acts of her own legislature, was reduced to a state of wretchedness almost unexampled in the annals of tyranny and suffering. While William was alive, he evinced a wish to prevent the Irish parliament from rendering the treaty of Limerick totally void and unavailing to the Catholics : but his wishes were prostrated by the iniquitous system of rule pursued by its members. The many frauds perpetrated by the followers of the Prince of Orange and his adherents then in Ireland, on whom the innumerable confiscations of Catholic property had been conferred, enabled his sister-in-law Queen Anne to carry into ruinous prostration, the small remnant of privileges conceded under the treaty of Limerick to Roman Catholics preferring their native country to France, to which 19,000 of their brave fellow-countrymen, denominated the Irish Brigade, had emigrated, attaching themselves to the fate and fortune of their legitimate king, James II. A corrupt parliament and a willing but obsequious monarch, as

Anne proved herself to be, completed the ruin of Ireland. A portion of\* the penal-laws sanctioned by her and devised by an insatiable lust for power and plunder, are now subjoined for the reader's view and reflection. The first bill, to prevent the growth of popery, was introduced in the session of 1703. Its third clause provided, "that if the son of an estated papist shall conform to the established religion, i. e. protestantism, the father shall be incapacitated from selling or mortgaging the estate, or disposing of any portion of it by will. The fourth clause prohibited a papist from being the guardian of his own child, and ordained, that if at any time the child, though young, pretends to be a protestant, it shall be taken from its own father, and placed under the guardianship of the nearest protestant relative. The sixth clause prohibited papists from purchasing manors, tenements or profit rents, and of holding any property under any term longer than thirty-one years, and debarred any papists to devise under a lease of lives. The seventh clause enjoined, that no Catholic shall succeed to any property belonging to a protestant relative deceased. By the tenth clause, the estate of a papist not having a protestant heir, is ordered to be gavelled or divided in equal shares, amongst all his children. The sixteenth and twenty-fourth clauses imposed the oath of abjuration and a test called *sacramental*, as a qualification for office, and for voting at elections. The twenty-third clause deprived the Catholics of Limerick and Galway of the protection insured to them by the articles of the treaty. The twenty-fifth clause vested in Her Majesty all advowson possessed by papists.

No Irish protestant can peruse without blushing this iniquitous system of laws, for the shame brought on his doctrine by robbery and oppression.

The following is from the pen of a truly great statesman and philosopher, of Irish descent, Mr. Burke, "By the total reduction of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of

\* Ab uno disce omnes.—Virg. *Æn.*

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the *natives* was accomplished. All the penal-laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, were the effects of national hatred and scorn for a conquered people. They who carried on this system of oppression, looked steadfastly to Britain as the great bulwark to be confided in by the robbers and despoilers of Ireland. At that time in England the names of Irish and papists were obnoxious to the English ear. There, every measure tending to blacken and abuse the Irish character was dear and acceptable. Matters were thus carried on in Great Britain, so called since the union with Scotland had been carried into effect, and unceasing eagerness to pursue the penal-laws then in full force into woful effect."

During the whole reign of Queen Anne, the penal-laws were executed with unrelenting severity against the Catholics. It was the current though unwise policy of that day, to consider the Roman Catholics as enemies to the crown and government of the realm. The earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant in 1706, recommended to the Irish Parliament to provide for the security of the realm against their foreign and domestic enemies, meaning by the latter, the body of Catholics: for he subjoined, that he was commanded to inform them, that Her Majesty considering the number of papists in Ireland, would be glad of an expedient to strengthen the interest of her protestant subjects in that kingdom.

Many circumstances concur to prove, that the Queen herself was indisposed to the Hanover succession, and that the great object of her last ministry was to reconcile the nation to a favourable reception of her brother; the protestant ascendancy party was indefatigable in thwarting the measures which the ministry dare not avow, though most anxious to carry. The Queen was indecisive and wanted firmness to carry any important resolution into effect. Whatever harsh measures were forced upon her by those in England, opposed to her brother's succeeding to the throne, viz. his attainder and a reward of £50,000 offered for his arrest, besides

the several declarations put forth to favor the Hanover succession, preyed upon her mind : the horror of popery prevailed almost universally throughout England, and therefore the apprehension of a Roman Catholic Prince's (son to James II.) succession to the throne of England, roused the hatred of his opponents to such a pitch, that the Duke of Cambridge was secretly sent for to Hanover, and arrived in due time to succeed Anne, notwithstanding all her efforts to avert it. She died, August 1st, 1714.

#### REIGN OF GEORGE I.

The power of the party which called in this stranger from Hanover to be placed upon the throne of England and Ireland, was carried into effect by the combination of the protestants of both countries ; however, the brother of the deceased queen would have been received and proclaimed, had he been a protestant, but the bigotry of England preponderated : George was proclaimed on August 1st, 1714, a few hours after Her Majesty had expired. On the 6th, he was also proclaimed in Dublin, at 7 p.m. where the news produced joy and acclamations among the protestant party there, the zealous opponents to Catholicity. A rebellion in favor of the Pretender burst forth in North Britain, headed by the Earl of Mar ; his army consisted of about ten-thousand Scotch: recruiting in Dublin likewise, for this army of Scotchmen, was partially introduced in the city. But the Irish Catholics as a body kept themselves calm, and did not interfere in aiding or abetting the Pretender's cause : however, this peaceful demeanour of the Irish Catholic people did not secure them against protestant bigotry and persecution under George I. The penal-laws were rigidly put in force A.D. 1718, and so violently were these terrors of persecution carried on, that to practise the Catholic faith was deemed a crime. Priests were dragged from the altar and sanctuary and exposed, in their vestments, to the derision of the soldiery, then committed to gaol, and afterwards banished

the kingdom. The Lords Justices granted orders for arresting the Earls of Antrim and Westmeath, the Lords Netterville, Cahir and Dillon, and most of the respectable land-holders, as persons suspected of disaffection to his Majesty's Government.

About this time an attempt was made in favor of the Pretender by the intrigues of the Cardinal Alberoni. An armament of twelve ships of the line and several transports, was equipped, having on board 6,000 regular troops, and arms for 12,000 men : the command of this fleet had been committed to the duke of Ormond, with the title of Captain-General of his Catholic Majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of the Spanish monarch, importing, that for many good reasons, he had sent part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to King James. The Duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and had proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, when the fleet was overtaken and dispersed by a storm, which entirely defeated the intended invasion.

The Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1723, introduced among other nefarious bills against the Roman Catholics, one of the grossest turpitude—viz. to emasculate the Irish Priesthood : this infamous attempt against all moral decency was suppressed. No period of Gothic barbarism can be found in which a more disgraceful attack against the laws of nature was ever contemplated. “O tempora ! O mores !” “O the times ! O the morals !”

A patent which had been granted to an Englishman named Wood, for the coinage of half-pence, to the amount of £108,000 for the circulation in Ireland, produced among the Irish people an almost universal dissatisfaction to the copper coinage sent amongst them : the base metal which composed it being principally of brass, the nett value of the whole did not exceed £8000 : murmurs were unsparingly diffused, and after some time, the patent which had been given, was suppressed by George I. From this, any interesting matter of

public events became dormant, and nothing worthy to be recorded, until the period of his death which occurred as follows :

## CHAPTER II.

Death of George I. ; his Age and Reign ; Persecution of the Irish Catholics continued.—Reign of George II. ; Favours heaped upon the descendants of Cromwell ; Characters of Henry II. and Dermot M'Murrough.—Years of Famine ; Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant ; a Conspiracy to extirpate the Catholics discovered.—Battle of Fontenoy, gained by the French, assisted by the Irish Brigade ; Words of George II. when hearing of the Defeat of his Troops ; Landing of the Pretender in Scotland ; Battle of Culloden.—The Priesthood restored to the discharge of their sacred functions by the Lord Lieutenant.—Earl of Harrington is sent to succeed Chesterfield ; Dr. Lucas, from Cork, candidate for the representation of Dublin ; opposed by Latouche ; Successful return of Lucas ; his Statue in the City Hall.—The Protestant Primate of Armagh ; the Duke of Dorset is sent as Lord Lieutenant ; his son, Lord John Sackville, excited the displeasure of the citizens of Dublin.—Admiral de Conflans sails with a French Fleet from Brest to invade Ireland.—Dr. Curry's Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1641 ; an Expedition was preparing in France for the Invasion of Ireland.—Hawkes, the English Admiral, defeated the French Fleet ; Thurot, a French Admiral, commanded a small French Squadron.—Thurot landed (1760) in Carrickfergus, with 600 Troops, where they continued five days ; they were afterwards defeated by Captain Elliot, near the Isle of Man ; Thurot, and 300 of his men, fell in the action ; a Roman Catholic lady, named Miss O'Toole, persecuted on account of her Religion ; Mr. Saul, a merchant, prosecuted for having afforded her an asylum.—The Duke of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; Addresses to him from the Roman Catholics.—Government contemplated to effect a Union between the two Countries ; Opposition of the People ; Death of George II.—Character of George II. given by Plowden ; Mr Burke's character of the same ; cause of the Union between England and Ireland.—A Rebellion in Scotland in favour of the Pretender ; the Rebellion of '98, two individuals the primary cause.—George III. beginning to reign ; he was grandson of George II. ; Catholics and Quakers pour in their Addresses to him ; Insurrectionary movements, denominated Whiteboyism.—Various outrages committed by the Whiteboys ; Foreign causes contributed to excite these disturbances.—A certain mode of Farming recommended for the benefit of the Labouring Classes ; the Irish Workmen contrasted with those in other countries.—Government deputed gentlemen to proceed to where the Whiteboys were most numerous and destructive ; an impartial report was given, and tended much to tranquillize the Country ; five men falsely convicted and

hanged at Waterford.—Public manifestations of gratitude to Sir Robert Aston, Lord Chief Justice, for his impartiality at Clonmel.—Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, P.P., of Clogheen, County Tipperary, most maliciously arrested under false accusations of encouraging Whiteboyism; his Trial was removed to Dublin, where he was acquitted; unfortunately, however, another false Accuser was procured by the prejudiced Juries of Tipperary, and consequently this persecuted Priest was hanged at Clonmel.—Efforts of the Landlords and Graziers to excite mobs and create disturbances, and affix the blame to the Proctors.—In 1762, January, a rupture with Spain was announced, and an augmentation of the Army ordered; Money was also raised to support the War; Lord Halifax Lord Lieutenant; his salary raised to £16,000 per annum; the Farmers taxed to make roads, &c.—The disturbances in the South crept into the North, under the assumed name of Oak-Boys and Hearts of Steel.—The owners of Bogs caused the Peasantry to pay for Turbary; the Landlords looked for heavy Fines for the Renewal of any Leases that had ended; this caused numerous removals of the old Tenantry from their holdings.—Great discontent prevailed within the Northern Counties from the exaction of Fines and High Rents.—Lord Bute's Administration checked, for the first time, the Whig interest.

HAVING left England to visit his electoral dominions, Hanover, the King travelled, after having slept at Delzen, in his carriage, in which one of his attendants perceived his hands stiff and motionless. The affected parts were immediately rubbed by the attendants with spirits, but without effect. The tongue almost instantly began to swell, by which he became so enfeebled in the utterance of his words, nothing from him in this imbecile state was intelligible, but merely, "hasten to Osnaburgh." The following morning terminated his unhappy life: his age numbered 68 years, of which he had reigned 13.\* The passions and prejudices of the people of England rendered George I. the determined and unrelenting persecutor of the Irish Catholics: all the measures adopted against them during the preceding reigns of William and Anne, were pursued by George I. and his English Senate of Lords and Commons.

George II. succeeded his father George I. on the throne of England, A.D. 1723. The various persecutions carried on by Anne and her successor, called forth

\* Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumq; turres.  
Hor. "Pale death attacks, without distinction, the poor man's cottage and the palace of the King."

efforts from the Catholics for their removal, but so little was the regard from their enemies to their remonstrances, that even an answer was not obtained from the descendants of Cromwell, and of the murderers of Charles I. The restoration of his son was productive of little good to the Irish Catholics : on the contrary, Cromwell's party here were confirmed in all their tenures and unjust possessions, the result of the innumerable confiscations inflicted upon Ireland. The scenes of plunder and devastation perpetrated by James I. of England were unsparingly renewed against the Irish by William and Mary, and Anne, daughters of James II., whose son, known by the name of the Pretender, was denounced and a price set upon his head by his sister Queen Anne ; this produced the calling in one of the House of Hanover, from which has sprung the dynasty of Queen Victoria : as Dr. Cahill says, "*may God bless her.*" Dido, the founder of Carthage, offered to the Trojans in exile a full participation of the privileges which her subjects the Tyrians enjoyed.\* Her words to them must come home forcibly to our Sovereign's thoughts, when giving sanction to the Bill digested by *Lord John omnium nequissimus*.

To add to the iniquities afloat against the Roman Catholics of Ireland commencing with Henry II. who first polluted the land of Erin by his presence, and in restoring the adulterous Dermot Mac-Murrough (Murphy) to the throne from which he had been justly expelled, the elective franchise was wrested from the Irish Catholic population by the ministry of George II., A.D., 1727. A severe famine raged during 1728-29. In 1733, the privilege of acting as solicitors was likewise wrested from them. In 1745, the Earl of Chesterfield being Lord Lieutenant, a conspiracy of the Protestants to exterminate the Catholics was entered into, but happily a merchant of Dublin, who had been at Lurgan

\* *Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Æneid.*—A Trojan and a Tyrian shall meet from me no distinction. *Dido's words would well suit Queen Victoria.*

on business, communicated to his Excellency such information as defeated the nefarious project of the conspirators.

During the reign of George II., the famous battle of Fontenoy was fought, which terminated in favor of the French. To the gaining of this victory a portion of the Irish Brigade, consisting of three regiments, was principally instrumental—so great was the disappointment and anger of George II., when the defeat of his troops was announced, that he exclaimed, “cursed be the laws which have deprived me of such subjects.” The affairs of Scotland took a serious turn during his reign. In 1745, the Pretender landed, the 19th of August, on one of the Hebrides, the Marquis of Tullibarden, raised the standard of the young Prince at Glensinnam; on the 16th April, the battle of Culloden was gained by the Duke of Cumberland, by which defeat the Pretender's hopes for the recovery of his father's dominions became for ever extinct. The Irish Roman Catholics kept themselves quite aloof from all participation in that insurrectionary attempt of the Scotch.

By this defeat of the Scotch headed by the Pretender, the affairs of Ireland began to feel anew the domination of her hard stepmother *injuncta noverca* (England),\* the British arms being now triumphant over the Scotch, and no longer any apprehensions of succours from France, to assist in the cause of the Stuart family. The Earl of Chesterfield, appointed Lord Lieutenant during the troubles of Scotland, discharged his high duties with efficient clemency: he restored to the priesthood in Ireland, the power of exercising their sacred functions without fear of imprisonment: their places of worship were reopened, which had been closed against them by the penal code of Queen Anne. That illustrious nobleman had the satisfaction of witnessing peace and contentment widely diffused among the Irish people, particularly the Roman Catholics, during his short rule among them.

\* Plowden, p. 112. Vol. II.

A delusive hope prevailed among the Catholics, that Chesterfield would return ; however, to obviate that, the Earl of Harrington arrived (13th Sept. following) to rule them, more to the taste of England. About this time, a Dr. Lucas, from Cork, gave pain to the Government and the bigots in Dublin, by publications in favor of liberty and the rights of the subject : he offered himself candidate for the representation of the city in parliament : he was rejected, first time, and opposed by a Mr. Latouche ; they proceeded so far as to institute prosecutions, for a libel, against him : this friend of the people, Dr.\* Lucas, had to withdraw himself from the iron grasp of power, for a while ; he returned to Dublin, and by the exertions of patriotic friends, was returned for the city with success : the purest principles of freedom were the characteristic marks of this great man : his Statue can be seen in the City Hall.

The same page of Plowden which gives us the refined principles of the Earl of Chesterfield, and patriotism of Dr. Lucas, introduces the amusing but dissolute and degrading picture of the Protestant primate of Armagh : so great and partial were the words of his adherents and admirers, that he was called "*the beauty of Holiness.*" *Primate Stone* was the name of that great *man of Armagh.*

The Duke of Dorset returned to Ireland, where his first administration was highly acceptable, more from the suavity of his manners than any specific good derived : the conduct of his son, Lord John Sackville, gave universal umbrage by his haughty and supercilious demeanour.

Dr. Curry's memoirs of the rebellion in 1641, created great sensation among all classes of the Irish : the Ascendancy party being the descendants of the aggressors, and the Catholics the aggrieved, a ferment was excited more universally ; the Roman Catholics contemplating to remove their chains, their persecutors to rivet them more firmly. In 1759, an expedition was to have sailed

\* Plowden, p. 115. Vol. II.

from France for the invasion of Ireland : Vannes in Lower Brittany, was the place intended for their embarkation, and an additional fleet was to have sailed from Brest to co-operate. Hawke, the English admiral, was commanded to watch the motions of the French, but on a stormy night when he was driven\* from the French coast, †M. de Conflans, the commander of the French fleet at Brest, availed himself of the British Admiral Hawke's having been dispersed by the storm, and set sail to aid in the invasion of Ireland : either favoured by the storm or by chance, he made the bay of Quiberon as his intended rendezvous, or from necessity took shelter for his ships, to await the arrival of his countrymen from Lower Brittany. Being pursued thither by Hawke, de Conflans suffered a total defeat, on a stormy night, among rocks in the bay of Quiberon.

A marauding squadron was dispatched in the autumn of the same year from Dunkirk, under Admiral Thurot, for the north of Ireland, consisting of five ships, with 1200 land forces on board ; these being separated by adverse winds, two were dispersed and returned to France : the remaining three arrived off Carrickfergus, Feb. 1760, and landed 600 men. The town having no regular force to defend it, surrendered to the French : after five days, they re-embarked, but being unable, from the opposing winds, to sail northward, they proceeded, with this small fleet and force, through the Channel, where they were overtaken, not far from the Isle of Man, and suffered a defeat by Captain Elliot : the French lost in this action 300 men, amongst whom Thurot was killed.‡ A very peculiar persecution of a young lady named O'Toole, occurred the preceding year, in Dublin. Being importuned by some friends to turn Protestant, she took refuge in the house of a Catholic merchant named Saul : he was prosecuted for affording

\* A melancholy analogy between the forces intended for the relief of Ireland, in the years 1759 and 1796.

† Plowden, p. 131, Vol. II.

‡ Plowden's Historical Review, p. 330.

her an asylum, and in the trial, was severely reprimanded by the Bench, saying, "*that the laws did not presume that a papist lived in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of Government.*" Mr. Saul went, in consequence of this domineering treatment, to France, where he, his family, and Miss O'Toole, continued afterwards to reside.

In 1759, a public rumour was excited by a message from the Government to both Houses of Parliament, that an invasion of Ireland was contemplated by France; numerous addresses were got up by the Protestant party, and presented to the Duke of Bedford, then Lord-lieutenant. A memorial from the Roman Catholics, headed by Mr. Charles O'Connor, of Ballinagarre, county Roscommon, Dr. Curry, the celebrated writer of the Rebellion of 1641, and a Mr. Anthony McDermot, was presented to the Viceroy, warmly expressive of their loyalty to the King and constitution: this was well received, and being the first from that suffering body since the violated treaty of Limerick, their desponding hopes were roused, and courage excited to perseverance: they then little imagined, that 69 years more would be requisite to fill up the chasm of persecution against them, and that in 21 years subsequently, new measures would be forged into a law, for the suppression of the Catholic doctrine, in the persons of their holy Bishops and priesthood.\*

From the tenor of the addresses emanating from the Roman Catholic body, the English ministry vainly supposed, that an union between the two countries might be reasonably attempted: the rumour however gaining ground, vast assemblages of the people had been stimulated to active opposition of such a measure: many outrages were perpetrated by the mob; the members of parliament who appeared to be partial to it, were insulted and threatened. This vile and mischievous inten-

\* Si tali Ecclesiæ vertantur cardine portæ, Ensibus ergo datum strictis componere lites.—*O'K's. Hist. descrip. Hiber.*

*Translated*—If the gates of the Church be turned on such a hinge, therefore it is given to terminate the dispute with drawn swords.

tion on the part of the government was carried into woful effect in 1800–1801, on which we shall dilate more at large, when the subject will appear in its proper place and year.

October 25th, 1760, George II. died at Kensington, a village in Middlesex near London ; in which is a Royal Palace, purchased of Lord Chancellor Finch by William III. The following character of this scion of Hanover is given by Plowden, vol. II. p. 132. “None of his predecessors on the throne lived to so great an age ; none enjoyed a more happy or glorious reign. He was a Prince of personal intrepidity. The glory of his reign arose out of the measures of his ministers, and more particularly of those who least indulged his predilection for his German dominions. To their stern adherence to public principle was it owing, that the monarch's private affections never did interfere with the public business or course of justice. The personal talents of the monarch were not of a cast that would render him beloved at home or respected abroad. He was proud, diffident and reserved. His frugality bordered upon avarice. He himself possessing no learning, despised it in others ; he gave no encouragement to talent or literature of any sort. His encomiasts have selected no one great virtue to panegyrise, and though charged with having habitually given into several of the meaner vices, the ungracious function of retailing them may be avoided.”

From Mr. Burke's laconic portrait of George II. we learn, that he maintained the dignity of his Crown connected with the liberty of the people, unimpaired during a space of 33 years. A dangerous rebellion raged (under him) in Scotland, for the restoration of the Stuart line in the person of the Pretender : that attempt at insurrectionary movements being effectually suppressed, none other arose until we arrive at the ever memorable epoch of 1798, which unhappily gave birth and sorrowful effect to the union established by law, under the administration of Pitt and Castlereagh.

The beginning of George III.'s reign was joyfully looked upon by his subjects of Great Britain and Ireland. He was grandson of George the II. and native of England. In his speech in the houses of parliament, he said, "I glory in the name of Briton : " notwithstanding his assurances of regarding the rights and religious liberties of his subjects in an equal degree of justice to be evinced for all, he manifested the same tenacious adherence to protestant ascendancy as his predecessors. Under these flattering assurances, all ranks were pouring in their addresses to the young monarch, and among them figured Roman Catholics and Quakers.

1761 produced various disturbances in the South of Ireland. A party principally composed of the low farming classes extended itself widely throughout the counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Queen's, and were designated by the name of Whiteboys. This name arose from their dress, at their meetings in the night, during which many outrages followed ; they were usually covered with white shirts which gave rise to the name. They acted as all conspirators do, under an oath of secrecy, and levelled their rage more avowedly against tithe proctors and their employers, the Irish clergy of the Church of England. The ditches which had been made to enclose or take in free commons, were levelled, new roads lately made torn up, and threats denounced against severe and unfeeling landlords.

Various causes concurred in reducing the peasantry to such sad and illegal alternatives. An epidemic distemper of the horned cattle had spread from Holstein\* through Holland into England, where it raged for some years, and consequently raised the prices of beef, cheese, &c. &c. to an enormous height, hence pasturage became more profitable than tillage ; and the whole agricultural districts in the South of Ireland, which for some time flourished under a more mild administration of the popery laws, were turned from the producing of corn to the feeding of cattle and sheep.

\* A Duchy of Lower Saxony, subject to the king of Denmark.

This system of farming enables the occupier to employ fewer hands, and the cottiers turned adrift by unfeeling land-holders, added fuel to the flame, and increased the malcontents prodigiously. The prices of labour became reduced, and the labouring Irishman, the best to be met with in any country, was pinched into extreme poverty and wretchedness. Every class of men, high and low, must admit, that the workman, during the season of harvest especially, should be entitled to fair wages, say two shillings or half-a-crown, with good diet of three meals a-day, by which mode of treatment, a desire of performing well the day's work, and gratitude to the employer, would be the result. It would be obviously the interest of every land-holder and the tenant deriving under him, to devise an uninterrupted employment for the labourers in their respective districts, whereby subsistence for themselves and families might be realized.

To resume our subject on the illegal combinations of the White-boys. These insurrections became alarming to the government. A commission of gentlemen highly conversant in the law, was formed and forwarded to the disturbed parts in the south, in order to investigate upon the spot, what cause could have produced such outrages, and to apply a remedy ; the reports were as follow. "The authors of those riots consisted indiscriminately of men of different persuasions, and had not manifested any marked prejudice against the king or his government." This impartial communication was confirmed amply by the next judges on the circuit of Munster which followed. Five unhappy individuals, however, were condemned and executed at Waterford, 1762, for being present at the burning of a cabin ; he who swore their lives away, was the very villain that set fire to it. Sir Richard Aston, Lord-chief-justice of the Common Pleas, was sent down under a Commission to try numbers of these rioters ; and so well satisfied, for his impartiality, were the people and the surrounding inhabitants, also those of the town of Clonmel,

that they lined the roads through which he passed, exclaiming, "long life to your honor."

The occult disturbers of the peace, envious and irritated that so many had been acquitted by that humane judge, turned their malignity towards a Rev. Roman Catholic priest, and resolved that he should be made a victim. The name of this divine was Nicholas Sheehy, the parish priest of Clogheen, County Tipperary: in that locality the white-boys had been numerous and desperate. A reward of £300 was offered for his arrest. This Roman Catholic clergyman (*mens sibi conscia recti*, i.e., conscious of his innocence) requested to take his trial in Dublin, where, after a severe scrutiny of fourteen hours, he was honourably acquitted; no evidence having appeared against him but a despicable boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached thief; all three had been brought out of Clonmel jail and bribed to give testimony against the Rev. Mr. Sheehy. His enemies, who had failed in this their first attempt against him, were determined upon his destruction. One Bridge, an informer against some who had already suffered, was said to have been murdered by some among the white-boys, although his body could never be found.\* Rev. Mr. Sheehy,† immediately after being acquitted in Dublin, was indicted for this murder by his persecutors: he was transmitted to Clonmel to be tried for this new crime, and upon the sole testimony of such infamous witnesses, this Rev. Parish Priest of Clogheen was found guilty and hanged in Clonmel.

The Castle party studied to affix to the Catholics all the disloyalty attending the insurrectionary movements of the white-boys. The oppressed peasants being too ignorant to understand the law, and too poor to bear

\* It was positively sworn by two unexceptional witnesses that he privately left the kingdom, before it was said that he (the informer) had been murdered. Notes of the trial were taken by one of the jury, and published in Exshaw's Magazine for June 1766.

† *Ordinibus sacris servili more latronum: Vita insons rapitur fune, vel ense, fame.*—*Vid, O'K's. Hist. descrip. Hiber., p. 65.*

*Translated*—Our holy ranks of priesthood are like robbers put to death, by either the rope, the sword, or famine.

its expenses, betook themselves to violence for redress. Mobs seldom rise till provoked to crime, and rarely disperse till mischief is produced. The loudest complaint of the *Whiteboys* was against the extortions of the *Tithe proctors*. The landlords and graziers, in order to divert the irritation of the deluded peasantry from themselves, encouraged and connived at the resistance put forth by the peasantry against the protestant minister and his proctor. The inhabitants of the southern counties being principally Roman Catholics, the malignant inferences were attached at once to the causes, and results to the score of religion : alas ! the name of the pope and his Irish adherents embitter, *then and now*, the hearts and minds of Englishmen and their descendants.

January 23, 1762, Mr. Hamilton, secretary to Lord Halifax, communicated to the Commons the rupture with Spain. In consequence of this, an immediate augmentation of five battalions was ordered by the British Government, and a Vote of Credit for the raising of £500,000 sterling. An address was forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant, to be presented to his Majesty, to have his salary raised to £16,000. At the close of the parliament, Lord Halifax congratulated the House, that the insurrection of the *Whiteboys* had been got under. The spirit however had not been eradicated : the principle got into some of the Northern districts, under the names of *Oak Boys* and *Hearts of Steel*. The small farmers had been obliged to contribute six days' labour for a man and horse to repair and keep good the public roads. The parishes remonstrated, the baronies then combined to resist, and the counties from thence caught the flame of opposition. The owners of turf bogs excited the hatred of the country people ; these began to assume the regulations concerning turbary into their own hands, and designated their followers under the name of *Hearts of Steel*. About this time too, an absentee landlord of large estates formed his plans not to treat with any farmer who was

not able to pay him a fine. The generality of his tenantry were unable to accede to his exorbitant demands, and from this inability on their part, he superseded the old tenantry, and obtained his object of large fines and low rents from others. An almost universal feeling of discontent pervaded the Northern counties : risings of the people were frequent ; the army from the neighbouring provinces, was called on to suppress them, and numerous arrests and several executions followed.

Lord Bute's administration gave the first check to the Whig interest since the accession to the throne of the House of Brunswick. He carried the Tory principles to Jacobitism. Upon the resignation of Mr. Pitt, \* the merchants and traders of Dublin in a body, not indeed legally representing, but well known to speak the sentiments of the great majority of the people of Ireland, presented an address to Mr. Pitt, expressive of their admiration of his principles and conduct, and their sincere condolence, that his country was deprived of his services. The merchants and traders, with the citizens of Dublin, had been the most opulent and influential in the kingdom, and took the lead in watching and forwarding the civil interests of the nation. They were directed and encouraged by Dr. Lucas, who having triumphed over his enemies and persecutors, now represented them in parliament. Dr. Lucas had been prominently forward in procuring a resolution of the Commons to bring in the heads of a Bill to limit the duration of Parliaments, in imitation of the English Septennial Bill, which was negatived by a majority of sixty-five. The loss of a question so reasonable and constitutional, marks the rapid decline of the patriotic interest in Ireland after the late changes. This ministerial triumph was marked by no popular commotion, but deep disappointment. The merchants, traders, and

\* Mr. Pitt, whose vigorous and successful administration had endeared him to the people, having proposed in the cabinet an immediate declaration of war against Spain, and being only supported by his brother-in-law Earl Temple, he immediately resigned.

citizens of Dublin, came to strong resolutions expressive of the general discontent at the loss of the Septennial Bill, which raised an awful alarm to Government.

### CHAPTER III.

Government defeated the intentions of Dr. Lucas; Earl of Halifax recalled; Earl of Northumberland succeeds as Viceroy, October, 1763.—Birth of the Prince of Wales; the government requested to afford information regarding the disturbances in the north and south of Ireland.—A Protestant Primate, called Archbishop Stone, was mentioned by Lord Clare as a promoter of general discord.—Deaths of Primate Stone and the Earl of Shannon, December, 1764; the Earl of Hertford lord lieutenant; Death of the Pretender in Rome, A.D. 1765.—A bill proposed for Septennial parliaments defeated; Dr. Lucas obnoxious to government on account of his integrity; was highly esteemed and respected by many noblemen.—Lord Hertford recalled; Lords Justices fill the place of lord lieutenant; Lord Townsend arrives as viceroy, October 14, 1767; the qualifications requisite for him to pursue.—All court favours to be conferred by the Viceroy; Lord Chesterfield instrumental to improve the system under the Lord Lieutenantcy.—Lord Townsend and his measures; the £16,000 allowed the Viceroy not sufficient to defray his expenses; a part applied for government use.—Augmentation of the army; sixteen months between the last and meeting of the new parliament, October, 1769; a money bill rejected; in March, 1770, parliament was to meet; Prorogued five times to 1771.—Attempts to pervert the Roman Catholic Priesthood; to the £30 voted under Queen Anne for their perversion, £10 was added by Lord Townsend.—Lord Harcourt appointed Viceroy; the act for trying Offenders out of their own counties repealed; a tax on absentees proposed and opposed; the door of civil liberty began to open in America; the American cry was “no representation no taxation.”—Lord North, Prime Minister, alarmed for the state of Ireland, lest the blaze of freedom might cross the Atlantic and reach her; Mild and conciliatory measures recommended.—The separation of America became alarming to British rule.—The Earl of Effingham resigns his command of an English Regiment in Dublin; he took part with the Citizens; they became roused in their sympathies for America; a prohibition against exporting provisions to America.—The north of Ireland manifested great interestedness for American freedom; Lord Harcourt recalled in 1775.—Government disapproved of the late Viceroy; Universal display of Government patronage—thirty Viscounts, Earls, and Barons made, *all in a day*; the Hon. Temple Luttrell opposed such profusion of titles, *being mostly Englishmen and Scotchmen*.—Lord Buckingham Lord Lieutenant; the Manufacturers of Dublin in deep distress; the Penal laws against Catholics first began under Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, William III., and Queen

Anne ; Mr. Burke and Lord Nugent.—Prejudices against Catholics beginning to subside ; a bill in their favour was brought forward ; long leases given to Catholics.—Deep prejudice against the Irish was evinced in Manchester, Liverpool and other towns in England ; illiberal policy of England, by refusing to receive Irish manufactures ; Ireland, in consequence, refused to import those of England.—Irish Manufactures improved by not receiving English goods ; from the long recess of parliament, the Volunteer Regiments began to spring up.—Hussey Burgh ; Mr. Grattan's amendment ; the coasts of Ireland subject, from the impotence of the British Fleet, to be assailed by the enemy, the Volunteers receive 16,000 stand of arms ; irregular organisation.—Number of Volunteers amounted to 42,000 men ; threats against members entering the house of commons ; Outrages committed ; the streets lined by the Volunteers, from parliament house to the castle, headed by the Duke of Leinster ; Lord Clare's memorable speech on the volunteers.—Lord Shelburne, in the British house of Lords, advocates the cause of Ireland, that her people being now a self-constituted army, she must have her rights conceded to her.

THAT failure did not discourage the patriotic Lucas. He presented the heads of bills for securing the freedom of Parliament, by ascertaining the qualifications of Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, and by vacating the seats of members, who would accept any lucrative office or employment from the crown, and of persons upon the establishment of Great Britain and Ireland. Each failed from the superior numbers of the court party.

After the Earl of Halifax had been recalled to England to succeed Mr. G. Grenville as Secretary of State, the Earl of Northumberland came over as Lord Lieutenant to meet the Parliament in October, 1762. His speech to them on this occasion, was expressive of his Majesty's just and gracious regard for a dutiful and loyal people : he congratulated them on the happy effects of the peace, and the birth of the Prince of Wales. The motions made in the commons for investigating the late disturbances in the North and South of Ireland, were negatived by considerable majorities, to which the fear of fathoming the real sources from which they had emanated, might involve many of the friends of the government to have been themselves the real delinquents and to have been the cause and promoters of them. To know the source of a disorder is the first step to its cure. In order however to delude the people, the house received

from its Committee several general resolutions which were mere truisms and gave no redress, supplied no means, afforded no security, effected no remedy.

There was then in Ireland a certain description of persons who professed themselves at all times enemies by principle and persecutors by disposition of their Catholic countrymen. They were ready instruments in the hands of the ambitious prelate to whose intrigues were attributed by Lord Clare, on the union, all the animosities which had so long disturbed the parliamentary debates. This was Primate Stone, whose policy, at all times truly Machiavelian, kept the Irish Catholics in continual apprehensions of Penal-laws and persecution, from the failure of their appeal to have their restrictions removed. On 25th November, 1763, Mr. Mason proposed fresh heads of a bill which he reminded the house had in the last session passed without a division, for empowering papists to lend money on mortgage of real estates. Mr. Le Hunte opposed the bill, which might eventually make papists proprietors of great part of the landed interest of the kingdom, which would be dangerous : the bill was rejected by a majority of 138.

The disappointment felt by the Catholics for the rejection of their bill was not of long continuance. The deaths of Stone the Primate and the Earl of Shannon, in December 1764, put an end to the system pursued against them. From thence a new scene opens to the view. In \* 1765 the Earl of Hertford was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Various debates sprung up in the house of commons to remove the pension lists which preyed heavily on the vital resources of the country : this measure was lost by a majority of 119 against 41. Another motion for the removal of corrupt magistrates was lost in like manner by 71 against 35. In

\* This year died in Rome the Chevalier de St. George, only son of James II. He supported a long life of misfortunes, sufferings, and retirement with christian fortitude. His attempt to recover the British throne, in 1715, and his son's in 1745, produced no sensation in Ireland. His death was scarcely known or spoken of in that country.—Plowden, Vol. II p. 149.

septennial parliaments the people foresaw, that there would be a check put to the preponderating influence of the British cabinet : addresses were poured in from various quarters in favour of such a measure ; this passed the Irish Houses, but when transmitted to England, it was strangled by the Privy Council.

The most active of the patriots, at that time, was Dr. Lucas : he was of course obnoxious to Government. It was the policy of the Castle to throw all possible disrepute upon the few who still espoused the patriotic cause, as Lucas did to his last hour. The personal talents and virtue of this great man conciliated for him the esteem of the Earl of Hertford, the Lords Chesterfield, Harrington, Halifax, and Northumberland.

Lord Hertford, not having lent himself as pliantly as was expected to the work of the British cabinet, which; it must be presumed, he disapproved of, was recalled. The old Lords Justices filled their stations for the last time until the appointment of Lord Townsend to be Lord-lieutenant, on 14th October, 1767. Under this administration was introduced a new system of governing Ireland. The choice of this nobleman was in many points judicious. In order to attempt the arduous task of supplanting the deep-rooted influence of the Irish oligarchy, it was requisite, that the Lord-lieutenant, to whom that power was to be transferred, should be endowed with the qualities most likely to ingratiate him with the Irish nation ; convivial ease, humour, liberality and valour. In the House of Commons three or four grandees had so great an influence, that through them the members acquiesced in, or disapproved of any measure coming from the Government.\*

Formerly the principals used to stipulate with each new Lord-lieutenant, whose office was biennial, and residence but for six months, upon what terms they would carry the king's business through the house : so that they might be styled *undertakers*. They provided that all court favors, whether places, pensions, or pre-

\* Dr. Gamb. Phil. Surv., p. 57.

ferments, should pass through their hands, in order to keep their suite in dependance and vassalage. All applications were made by the leader, who claimed as a right the privilege of gratifying his friends in proportion to their numbers. Whenever their demands were not complied with, then were the measures of Government sure to be crossed and obstructed. This evil had been seen and lamented by Lord Chesterfield. His resolution and preparatory steps for undermining it, probably had caused his recall on the cessation of danger, which his wisdom was thought competent to avert.

The arduous task which Lord Townsend had undertaken to perform, was not to be accomplished by a *coup de main*: forces so marshalled and commanded, could not be easily dislodged: it was requisite, that the chief governor should be first popular, then powerful before he could be successful. To those convivial fascinations of which the Irish are eminently sensitive, his lordship superadded as many personal favors, as his fiscal resources would admit. He judiciously countenanced the cry for septennial parliaments, in which the patriots anticipated the cure of gross venality, by the return of\* their power and controul over their representatives. Government now felt that they could no longer withhold, with decency, what England had so long enjoyed.†

To break up the mischievous system of the Irish oligarchy, Lord Townsend not only employed the means now furnished by Government, but had the singular merit of having sacrificed his own patrimony to the service of the state. The allowance of £16,000 per annum sufficed not to maintain that establishment, which his zeal for the public service, and the liberality of his own disposition, pointed out as necessary. This

\* The British Parliament has continuance for seven years, unless previously dissolved by the King.

† Εν ελπίσι χρεῖ τας σοφας εχειν εἶον  
 Ανθρωποι ἀνυχων σωζέσθαι υπο της ελπίδος.

Menander.

Latine—In spe decet sapientes agere vitam  
 Vir infelix servabitur ac stabit spe.

nobleman during his viceroyalty contracted a heavy debt, which his son, the Marquis, had undertaken to discharge by selling a portion of the family estate.

Early in the first session of 1768 a message was sent to the Commons for an augmentation to the army on the Irish establishment, the number to be 15,235 men : a Committee was named to investigate how accounts ran with them since March 1751. Sixteen months having intervened between the dissolution of the old and the meeting of the new Parliament, gave the Lord-lieutenant the opportunity of procuring friends to co-operate in carrying out the several measures of the Government party. On the 17th October 1769, the Lord-lieutenant met the new Parliament : Mr. John Ponsonby was unanimously elected Speaker. Lord Townsend had not his plan as yet sufficiently matured. A money Bill being presented, it was rejected for its not having originated in the Irish House. A schism sprung up among the government adherents and the patriotic party, but finally ended, no more money bills appearing to be presented during the session of that year. Angry feelings operated so powerfully on Lord Townsend, that he prorogued the parliament on 26th December to March 1770, and by five successive proclamations it was prorogued to 1771.

During so extraordinary an interval caused by renewed prorogations, the Lord-lieutenant worked so assiduously that he gained several of the patriotic members to coincide with him in his measures. The address voted to his Majesty was carried by 132 against 107. Mr. Ponsonby resigned the office of Speaker, for which he gained great popularity, and Edmund Sexton Perry was appointed to the post under loud disapprovals of the people.\*

Strong objections have been made to the unconstitutional system of Lord Townsend's administration both in and out of Parliament. He had so completed his system of managing the House of Commons, that he could

\* Plowden, Vol. II. p. 164.

on all occasions, secure a majority of one-third ; by this mode of acting he had a majority in fifteen divisions during the two first days of the session.

The remainder of Lord Townsend's administration passed over without further opposition. His natural humanity and benevolence softened, as much as possible, the rigour of the popery laws. Although this be advanced in his favour, his success in proselytizing in the House of Parliament, influenced him to tamper with the Catholic priests. In the abominable code of laws forged under Queen Anne,\* for the perversion of the Roman Catholic priesthood, our lauded Townsend added £10 to the £30 to be paid to any Roman Catholic priest who would secede from his faith and his God, and embrace the protestant religion. *Miserable efforts to contaminate !*

In October 1772 Lord Harcourt assumed the government of Ireland in the capacity of Viceroy. To continue the system adhered to by his predecessor was his only and easiest mode to pursue. He continued almost for twelve months after his arrival without summoning the Houses of Parliament to meet him : they assembled however, October 12, 1773. In the speech it was merely advanced, that he would frugally and faithfully administer the supplies. The most acceptable measure of that session was the repeal of the unconstitutional law for the trial of offenders out of their own country. In the early part of Lord Harcourt's administration, a tax on Absentees was vigorously proposed and opposed : this was to reach all who would not spend six months of the year, for certain, in their own country. It was rejected by a small majority ; the numbers for it being 102, against it 122.

To the further credit of Lord Harcourt's administration, the door of civil liberty had begun, under him, to

† Plectitur innocuus, populo plangente, Sacerdos.

*O'K's Hist. descrip. Hiber. p. 65.*

*Translated*—The innocent priest is tampered with, the people bewail him.

be opened and display itself. The English Government took the alarm in America, where true freedom first dawned for the sons of men. A constitutional maxim spread itself with rapidity, "*no representation, no taxation*;" this principle was acted upon with zeal and perseverance; soon was that gem of the West (now the United States of America) torn from the brow of Great Britain. Lord North clearly saw the maxims begun to be acted in America, were inverted and became applicable to Ireland. He instructed the Lord-lieutenant to use his efforts to engage the affections of the Irish Roman Catholic subjects, by relaxations of the Penal Code. A Bill was ordered to be brought into the House to enable them to recover money lent upon Protestant estates. Mr. Mason, Sir Lucius O'Brien and Mr. Langrish were the framers of it by order of Government; at the same time leave was given to bring in a Bill to enable Catholics to hold lands under leases of lives. These were not sustained so as to carry them into a law; but positive orders arrived from the British minister to pass some Act of a conciliatory tendency for Ireland, in order to divert their good wishes for the success of the American movement against the oppressive treatment of Great Britain towards them.

There was a strong analogy between Ireland and America? Taxation in the latter produced what England will never cease to regret, viz. the total separation of the two countries: but alas! Ireland has been destined to suffer, for seven centuries, hardships unparalleled in the annals of the world. An embargo was laid upon the exportation of provisions from Ireland to America, which caused great embarrassment to the Irish farmer and eventually to the landlord. The prices for cattle and wool were lowered, and the value of land had fallen. Government was seriously alarmed at the honourable light in which the American struggle was generally viewed. From the pen of Plowden, the following is given. "The American dispute very particularly attracted the consideration of the citizens of Dublin. In

1775 the Earl of Effingham, whose regiment was ordered to act against the colonies, resigned his command. The city of Dublin, at the Midsummer quarter assembly voted him public thanks for having consistently with the principles of a true Englishman, refused to draw his sword against the lives and liberties of his fellow subjects in America." Soon after an address of thanks in fuller terms, was presented to him from the guild of merchants of Dublin: the latter also presented an address of thanks to the several peers who (as they said) "in support of the constitution, and in opposition to a wicked and weak administration, protested against the American restraining Bills." They afterwards came to other resolutions, which they prefaced with pointed strictures on those who in any wise promoted the acts then carrying on in America, as well on account of the injured inhabitants of that country, as of their own brave countrymen sent on the unnatural errand of killing their fellow subjects. They resolved, that it was the duty of every good citizen to "exert his utmost abilities to allay the unhappy disputes that then disturbed the British empire, and that whoever would refuse his consent to a dutiful petition to the king\* tending to undeceive his Majesty, and by which it could be hoped, that the effusion of one drop of blood of the subject, might be prevented, was not a friend to the British constitution." These sympathies of the citizens of Dublin in the cause of America, were common to a great part of the nation, particularly of the north.

The first octennial parliament had scarcely lived four years, when the British cabinet found it expedient, that it should be dissolved. The symptoms of independence and resistance to the British mandates in the last session, alarmed Government, and created a diffidence in the steadiness of those who had enlisted under their new banners. They looked to more passive obedience in a future parliament. Mr. Perry was by the last

\* *Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi*—Hor. translated, for the folly of their kings the subjects suffer.

Parliament re-elected speaker. Lord Harcourt never met the new parliament, which was convened in June 1776, *pro forma*, i.e. for form's sake, and by several prorogations, went over to the 14th of October 1777.

The British cabinet was little satisfied with the administration of Lord Harcourt. The easy and delicate turn of his mind ill qualified him to support, much less to improve upon the late system. Government upon the whole still retained a majority; yet several of their adherents had occasionally, during the last session, proved recreant from their instructions: some had deserted their ranks; many wavered, menaced, and complained of the terms of their engagements. Therefore, to give vigour to the system before the election of a new parliament, an unusual promotion took place. Five viscounts were advanced to earldoms, seven barons to be viscounts, and eighteen new barons were created, all on the same day. Such modern peerages, and their substitutes in the commons, had pre-engaged to stand by the minister in every measure he might pursue. Severe allusions were made by the Honorable Temple Luttrell, against such prodigious conferring of titles upon many in no way connected with Ireland, which, above all others upon the globe, was the most miserably oppressed. He instanced Lord McDonald, who had no other *claims* to a peerage, *except* for having assisted the Pretender in 1715 and 1745.

1777. When Lord Buckinghamshire assumed the reins of government, he found the country in deplorable distress. In Dublin the manufacturers would have perished but for contributions and charity. Lord North was not ignorant of the principles of American freedom having reached the Irish\* shore: therefore it was strongly recommended to mitigate the penal laws, cruelly enacted against Irish Catholics by Henry VIII, Eliza-

\* *Tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet; et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires.—Hor. Epist.*

i.e. Your apprehension should be roused when a neighbour's house is on fire; and flames, if neglected, gain strength and are difficult to be subdued.

beth, William III, and Queen Anne. The Irish parliament, too bigoted still to efface the "*monstrum, horrendum, ingens*," from the statute book, were deaf to any relaxation of *their* sufferings.

The policy of relaxing the penal code of the Irish, had not only pervaded the British cabinet, but the British senate : no voice bigoted or fanatical was raised against them. It was resolved, from the motions made by Mr. Burke and Lord Nugent, "*that Ireland was now the chief dependence of the British crown, and that it particularly behoved this country to admit the Irish nation to the privileges of British citizens.*"

On the eleventh day after the British House of Commons had given the liberal example of universal assent to Sir George Savile's motion in favour of the Roman Catholics of England, Mr. Gardiner, on the 25th May, 1778, moved in the Irish House of Commons, for heads of a Bill for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland ; it was carried in the affirmative.

The preamble of Mr. Gardiner's act, contained assertions which, some years previously, it would be little short of treason to have advanced ; namely, that the severities enacted, during the reign of Anne, ought to be relaxed ; that the Catholics of Ireland were excluded from, and ought to be admitted to the blessings of our free constitution, and that it would promote the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that the Catholics should be bound to the Protestants by mutual interest and affection.\* The purport of the act was, that any Catholic subscribing the oath of allegiance and declaration, as prescribed by the 13th and 14th of Geo. III, c. 35, might take, enjoy and dispose of a lease for 999 years certain, or determinable on the dropping of 5 lives ; that the lands then possessed by Catholics, should be in future descendible, deviseable, or alienable, as fully as if they belonged to, or were in the possession, of any other subject of his Majesty : and that it should

\* 17 and 18 Geo. III. c. 49. An Act for the relief of his Majesty's subjects of this Kingdom professing the popish religion.

be no longer in the power of a child to fly in the face of his parent, by demanding a present maintenance out of the father's personal estate, or by depriving him totally of the inheritance of his real estate, as he before had been enabled to do by the 2nd of Anne. After a severe contest of eight divisions, with the unequivocal approbation of Government, the general support of the patriots, and the example of unanimity in the British legislature for a similar indulgence to the Catholics of England, were the heads of this Bill carried through the Irish House of Commons by the small majority of nine. In the Lords, it was carried by a majority of two thirds. The session closed in August, with a flattering speech from the Lord-lieutenant. The relief which the distresses of Ireland had roused the British parliament to afford to their commerce, worked the selfish and illiberal prejudices of Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, almost to rebellion.\* Mr. Burke triumphantly refuted all arguments against the Bill. He would not, by describing the situation of his country, engage the humanity of the house in her favour. The people of Ireland would not accept favours from humanity. They called for justice not for pity. They requested Britain to be wise, not generous; to provide for her own good, and secure her own interest.

In melancholy confirmation of the distressed state of Ireland, Lord North communicated to the British commons a message from his Majesty, recommending on that account, that the charge of regiments on the Irish establishment, then serving out of that kingdom, should be paid by Great Britain. This produced a debate very interesting to the welfare of Ireland. Several questions of the highest importance to that country, were warmly debated in both houses during the session, but were defeated by large majorities. The Irish were highly exasperated, that the British had abandoned their cause.

\* Mr Burke ever evinced, in the affairs of Ireland, the most accurate and historical knowledge, an unbiassed judgment, and, to the very last a most constitutional spirit. Plowden, Vol. II. p. 182.

Their discontents became alarming. Associations were entered into against the importation of British commodities, and for the encouragement of Irish manufactures. In Dublin they published resolutions, that the unjust, illiberal and impolitic opposition given by many self-interested people of Great Britain to the proposed encouragement of the trade and commerce of this kingdom originated in avarice and ingratitude. And that they would not import or use any goods or wares from Great Britain, till she entertained sentiments of respect and affection for her fellow-subjects of Ireland. Similar resolutions passed at Waterford and generally throughout the kingdom. In consequence of which the manufactures of Ireland began to revive, and the demand for British goods to decrease. This produced a disposition in Great Britain, to attend for the first time, to the affairs of Ireland.

It was the unwise policy of government not to convene the parliament of Ireland in the pressure of its national distress ; the ministry was frequently called upon by the opposition to account for such extraordinary conduct ; no answer was obtained. The unusual length of the recess, the refusal of the British parliament to afford redress and the want of an Irish parliament to apply to, gave rise to those energies to which an oppressed and injured people never fail in extremity to resort. During this recess the system of volunteering took its rise, and had made considerable progress before the parliament met on the 12th of October, 1779.

Mr. Grattan \* opposed the speech from the throne as containing nothing explicit, nothing satisfactory. Were the people of Ireland undeserving the notice of the British ministers ? It was plain they had nothing to expect, since applications from the people backed even by officers of the crown, were not attended to. Ireland

\* Grattan, the most sublime orator of whom Ireland can boast, surpassed those of ancient Greece or Rome : his stupendous powers of oratory were calculated to command the admiration of every age and latest posterity of his countrymen. Plowden's Historical Review, *ubique*.

had nothing then to depend upon but her own spirit. No redress of grievances, no extension of trade, but from the efforts of her people! and would it be safe there or elsewhere to oppose these efforts? The distresses of Ireland were twofold, the beggary of the people and the bankruptcy of the state. He moved an amendment which strongly painted the distressed situation of the country, and that the only resource left to support their expiring commerce was to open a free export trade, and let his Majesty's Irish subjects enjoy their natural birth-right. Not only the leading patriots on this occasion, but several of the servants of the crown,\* were for the amendment. Mr. Prime Sergeant (Hussey Burgh†) after expatiating on the necessity of laying the state of their distresses at the foot of the throne, moved in lieu of Mr. Grattan's amendment, "that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin;" which was unanimously assented to.

The distresses of Ireland and the impotency of government produced the most important change of disposition, sentiments, and action in the people. The British fleets had become inferior to the combined forces of the enemy: their coasts were insulted, those of Ireland wholly unprotected: the military establishment drained to recruit the regiments in America, had not left 5000 forces in that kingdom to defend the seaports from the crews of single vessels. Hence arose the necessity of volunteers arming in defence of their abandoned country. Government affrighted at the situation, into which they had

\* The Rt. Hon. Henry Flood declared for the amendment, and entered largely into a justification of his political conduct, which, he said, had been unfortunately greatly misrepresented; that the office he held was the unsolicited gift of his sovereign, which he had received with gratitude, and held with honor: that when the time should come, when he could no longer do so, he would gladly throw the bracelet into the common caldron. Plowden, Vol. ii. p. 185.

† The talents and amiable attainments of this gentleman gave some confidence to the weak administration of Lord Buckinghamshire. There was pitiful finesse in the ministerialists taking out of the hands of Mr. Grattan this necessary amendment, in order to substitute another of the like tendency. Plowden, Vol. 4i. p. 185.

thrown or permitted the country to be thrown, delivered out to the people 16,000 stand of arms, thereby encouraging and increasing the number of volunteers, without either stipulation, regulation, or authority for organizing or subjecting them to military discipline and subordination.

The commercial face of the country exhibited a still more desponding view: her vessels taken within sight of her ports: her trade shackled in almost every branch by British restrictions; an embargo on the exports of her provision trade; her linens lying upon her merchants' hands; her imports and her absentees swallowing up almost all her currency; and slight or no returns to supply an exhausted treasury.

This complicated wretchedness of the country once more dissolved the ministerial phalanx, and imperiously called some of its staunchest supporters to quit their ranks and vote for a *free trade*. The nation poured forth its gratitude to parliament, which, in its turn paid its tribute of thanks to the Volunteers who now amounted to 42,000 men. This formidable body, armed and organised by no other authority than the great law of self-defence, was never even questioned by the Irish government or parliament as to the legality of their commission or delegation. Government had so wasted its vigour, that it could not raise its arm in self-defence: during this debate the people assembled round the parliament house, and with full impunity menaced the members, and demanded oaths of them to support the measure, committing several acts of outrage and intimidation.\*

\* To this juncture did the late Lord Clare refer in his memorable speech on the Union (p. 29), when he said, "the imbecility of Lord Buckinghamshire's administration had arrayed the Volunteer army, and the address to his majesty voted in 1779 by the commons, demanding a *free trade as the right of Ireland*, was followed instantly by a resolution of thanks to that army for their array." When the speaker carried up the address to the lord lieutenant, the streets from the parliament house to the castle, were lined by the Dublin Volunteers, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, drawn up in their arms and uniform.

About a month after the Irish Parliament had been convened, Lord Shelbourne moved in the British House of Lords, that His Majesty might be addressed to take into re-consideration the two motions for procuring relief to Ireland, which in the preceding session had been rejected by large majorities, and that His Majesty would be pleased to direct effectual redress to his suffering people. His Lordship forcibly represented Ireland to be shut out from all prospects of justice or relief, that she must perish or work out her own salvation. She was then united as one man to rescue herself from approaching destruction. The people had armed themselves, and the number armed had exceeded forty-thousand, and were daily augmenting. This formidable body was not composed of mercenaries who had little or no interest in the issue, but of the nobility, gentry, merchants, citizens, and respectable yeomanry: men able and willing to devote their time, and part of their property, to the defence of the whole, and defence and security of their country.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

Various remonstrances of the people against arbitrary power; free trade consented to by the King and his Ministry to be granted to Ireland.—Earl Gower and Earl of Hillsborough partial to Ireland.—In the British House of Lords free trade was negatived, although consented to by the King; Mr. Fox's speech in favour of the Volunteers.—A money bill agitated and passed for six months; a free trade in various articles of commerce was conceded to Ireland. The people of Ireland looked more to the Volunteers for relief than to the government; the Volunteers organised themselves into Battalions.—In 1780 a general organisation and reviews, in summer, of the Volunteers took place; they all claimed national independence, and should become wholly free from the shackles of England.—Mr. Grattan advocates, in the Irish House of Commons, the right which Ireland possessed of making her own laws, and adhering to the strict letter of the constitution: the session closed September 2, 1780.—Lord Buckinghamshire recalled; succeeded by Lord Carlisle.—The Earl of Carlisle and Government's intention to disarm the Volunteers; Mr. O'Neill voted for national gratitude to the Volunteers.—News arrived in 1781 of the defeat of the British army in America.—The

financial debt of Ireland was, in 1781, £2,267,600; corruption and venality among Ministerialists prevailed.—Mr. Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, seconded by Mr. Grattan, proposed a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics.—Mr. Fitzgibbon opposed the bill to be introduced; strength of the people having arms in their hand.—Resolution of the Volunteers; the Earl of Charlemont.—Call to Dungannon, and meeting of the Volunteers; resolutions of said meeting; Francis Evans, Esq., chairman—Lord Charlemont, Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Dobbs; twenty-one resolutions passed;—Portugal and her wine; Irish manufactures; the Volunteers favourable to Roman Catholic emancipation; their address to the minority in parliament.—Chief features of a bill in favour of Roman Catholics.—Mr. Grattan advocated a bill for the removal of all disabilities of the Roman Catholics.—Mr. Grattan particularly brilliant in his speech on Ireland.—Permission given to Roman Catholics to open schools being prevented by the Penal Laws to teach; these Penal Laws enabled a magistrate to imprison any person who, if examined, would not inform him where he had been at Mass, and the Priest's name; any robberies or losses sustained, to be raised on the properties of Catholics, within the county where it occurred; no Roman Catholic was allowed to purchase a horse in Limerick or Galway.—Intermarriage between Protestants and Catholics defeated by a small majority of the house.

THE government had been abdicated, and the people resumed the power vested in them, and in so doing, were fully authorized by every principle of the constitution and every motive of self-preservation, and whenever again they should delegate this inherent power, they firmly and wisely determined to have it so regulated, and placed upon so large and liberal a basis, that they should not be liable to suffer under the same oppressions in time to come, nor feel the fatal effects and complicated evils of mal-administration; of calamity without hopes of redress; or of iron-handed power without protection. Both Houses of the Irish Parliament had declared, that nothing but granting the kingdom "free trade" would save it from certain ruin, a declaration conveyed through its proper constitutional organs, both houses of parliament, to His Majesty, against which there was but one dissentient voice in the houses, and not a second in the kingdom. His lordship closed with moving a strong resolution, importing, that it was highly criminal in his Majesty's ministers to have neglected taking effectual measures for the relief of Ireland, and suffered the discontents in that kingdom to rise to such a height, as

evidently to endanger the constitutional connection between the two kingdoms, and to create new embarrassments to the public councils, by disunion and diffidence in a moment when real unanimity grounded upon mutual confidence and affection was confessedly essential to the preservation of what was left of the British empire. The Earl of Hillsborough\* admitted that Ireland was entitled to a *free trade* with equal taxes, and he thought himself warranted in recommending to His Majesty, and proposing to parliament, to grant it, which, he hoped, would give perfect satisfaction and content to both nations. Earl Gower† in this debate, with manly firmness, avowed, that all his efforts for the relief of Ireland, had proved unfruitful. He had presided, he said, for some years at the council table, and had seen such things pass there of late that no man of any conscience or honor could sit there. The times were such as called upon every man to speak out. The state of the two kingdoms required sincerity and activity in council.‡

Lord Camden and several other lords spoke warmly in favour of Ireland, but the question was negatived by a majority of 82 against 37. The same subject was debated with more warmth in the British house of commons than in the peers, but with like effect. Lord Upper Ossory§ moved by way of resolution, the substance of what had been moved by Lord Shelbourne in the peers. In neither house of the British parliament were the desperate distress and calamity of Ireland even doubted: all were in accord as to the existence of the evil: the only differences were, who created them, and who had countenanced or fomented them; or who either negatively or positively had given them continuance, and how were they to be remedied. The opinion of the celebrated Mr. Fox|| concerning the volunteers is now annexed. "The Irish associations had been called

\* Grandfather to the Marquis of Downshire.

† The father of the Marquis of Stafford.

‡ Plowden, Vol. II. p. 189.

§ 15 Parl. Debates, p. 99.

|| 15 Parl. Debates, p. 129.

illegal; legal or illegal I entirely approve of them. I entirely approve of that manly determination, which in the dernier resort, flies to arms in order to obtain deliverance. When the last particle of good faith in men, is exhausted, they will seek in themselves the means of redress; they will recur to first principles, to the spirit as well as letter of the constitution, and they can never fail in such resources, though the law may literally condemn such a departure from its general and unqualified rules: truth, justice and public virtue accompanied with prudence and judgment, will ever bear up men in a good cause, that of private protection. God knows, that I sincerely lament the cause which produced this sad (he could but say) this perplexing and humiliating alternative. I most heartily lament, that any cause had been administered, which seemed to justify violence or resistance; I dread the consequences, however justifiable in their origin, or moderately or judiciously conducted: but whatever the effects may be, I am ready to acknowledge, that such a power is inherent in men: as men and citizens it was a sacred trust in their hands as a defence against the possible or actual abuse of power, political treachery, and the arts and intrigues of government; and when all other means failed, resistance becomes perfectly justifiable." \*

In the Irish senate the voice of patriotism reached even the ministerial side of the house. They spiritedly resolved to grant the supply but for six months. This short money-bill was transmitted to England, where, however mortifying to the ministers, it was reluctantly passed. The house, likewise, unanimously entered into several resolutions to promote the commerce of Ireland. So determined was the Irish House of Commons to assert their rights, and bring the British parliament and government to a recognition of them, that they carried by a majority of 170 to 47† a resolution, that at this time, it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes. Im-

\* 10 Commercial Journal, p. 34.

† 10 Commercial Journal, p. 34.

mediately after this unequivocal test of the disposition of the Irish House of Commons was known in England, the British House of Commons was in a committee on the affairs of Ireland; Lord North opened his three propositions relative to the allowing Ireland a free export of wool, woollens, and wool flocks, a free exportation of glass, and all kinds of glass manufactures, and a freedom of trade with the British plantations, on certain conditions, the basis of which was to be an equality of taxes and customs upon an equal and unrestrained trade. The minister stated the propriety and justice, as well as the necessity of affording relief to Ireland, and expatiated on the mutual and respective interests of both countries. Bills founded on the two first propositions were brought in, passed both houses with facility, and received the royal assent before the recess. The third being of a more complex nature, was suffered to lie over, during the approaching holydays, to afford time to the people of England to consider its nature and probable consequences.

In this alarming crisis, Ireland looked, for redress, more to the volunteers, than to parliament. Hitherto these bodies had acted only in detached companies. They now formed themselves into battalions on a system of regular communication. For some time the original cause of the volunteers arming against a foreign enemy had sunk into that of self-defence, and of demanding their constitutional and independent rights from a corrupt and venal legislature of Englishmen and domestic sycophants and seceders. In 1778, the armed associations amounted to 30,000 men: they had been regularly increasing from that period: they clad and armed themselves voluntarily: they cheerfully learned the use of arms and freely submitted to strict discipline: their transcendant attention was to instil into each other the "*amor patriæ vincit*," i.e. the love of country conquers; this principle when warmly diffused, established the independence of America.

In the beginning of 1780, the volunteers entered in-

to the plan of general organization : they appointed reviews for the ensuing summer, and chose their exercising officers and reviewing generals. Thus was laid the first foundation of Irish Union. They openly declared their opinions upon the state of public affairs ; the newspapers teemed with resolutions of the different corps, all in unison declaring, that Ireland was an independent kingdom, and fully entitled to all the uncontroled rights, privileges and immunities of a free constitution : that no power on earth but the king, lords and commons of Ireland could make laws to bind them : and that they were ready with their lives and fortunes to resist the usurpations and encroachments of any foreign legislature. The government and their parliamentary majority were alarmed at and consequently inimical to the propositions. Mr. Grattan, on the 19th April, 1780, after a most animated speech moved, that the house resolve and enter on its journals, *That no power on earth, save the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland.*

After a most interesting debate that lasted till 6 o'clock in the morning, in which every man but one, either expressly or by not opposing it, acknowledged its truth, Mr. Flood, who well knew that the ministerial members were committed to negative the motion, if it came to a division, recommended that no question should be put, and no appearance of the business entered on the journals, to which Mr. Grattan consented. This session which when opening promised bright prospects to Ireland, was closed on the 2nd September, 1780, by Lord Buckinghamshire ; it was this nobleman's fate to be disapproved of by his own countrymen as well as by the Irish. The volunteers had intimidated the British ministry ; they also condemned him for results which he could not prevent ; from their own dilatory and irresolute counsels, the disappointments which had arisen emanated. Lord Buckinghamshire was recalled, and Lord Carlisle appointed in his stead, December 23rd, 1780.

The Mutiny Bill, introduced in the British Senate by Mr. Jenkinson, minister at war, elicited from Mr. Fox a strain of eloquence regarding Ireland, to which we now allude. "The weakness of administration in refusing her calm and sober requests, had forced America to combat these powers; and in Ireland they had not been questioned, till relief had been denied to her manifest grievances. He complained of a conspiracy to give a Mutiny Bill to Ireland, in return for a grant from Ireland of a perpetual army to the crown. In October, 1781, the Earl of Carlisle met the parliament; after alluding to the charter schools, linen trade, fisheries, &c., he undertook to persuade the members that his Majesty reposed every confidence in their loyalty, &c., &c. It had now become notorious, that government wished to check and disarm the volunteers, but were compelled to court a power which they were unable to control. In the debate upon the address, Mr. Grattan noticed the extreme caution with which the address avoided mentioning the word *volunteer*; that wholesome and salutary appellation which he wished to familiarize to the royal ear. Mr. O'Neill then moved, that the thanks of the house should be given to all the volunteers in Ireland, for their unremitted exertions, and for their loyal and spirited declarations on the late expected invasion, which, with the exception of two voices, passed with unanimous good will.

Mr. Bradstreet, the recorder of Dublin, a staunch patriot, moved\* for leave to bring in heads of an *Habeas Corpus* Bill, observing that the liberty of Ireland was insecure until an *Habeas Corpus* Act should take place as in England. The activity of the Castle to insure a majority in parliament, endeavoured to keep pace with the increase of patriotism without. The people had arms, knew their use, and had resolved not to quit them, till they had attained the object of their wishes, a free and independent constitution. Administration confiding in its number, set all the

\* 1 Parl. Debates, p. 10.

patriots at defiance. They (the patriots) beheld the ministers with indignation and looked upon them as the only enemy they had to contend with. During Lord Carlisle's administration, the numbers of the two parties in the house of commons continued nearly as they had been left by his predecessor. Some of the leading men shifted sides.

In November, 1781, news arrived of the defeat of the British army under Lord Cornwallis, by the Americans. Mr. Yelverton, afterwards Lord Avonmore, moved an address to his Majesty, expressive of their loyalty and support, and hopes for an honorable peace. Mr. Grattan was called upon, December 7th, 1781, to state the financial resources and the debt of Ireland. He stated the debt to be £2,267,600 which he observed, had not been accumulated by directing the artillery of their arms against a foreign enemy, but by directing the artillery of the treasury against their constitution ; it was a debt of patronage and prostitution. After a minute investigation into, and a severe invective against every species of venality, unaccountable waste and ill directed profusion, he moved for a committee to examine the expenses of the nation, and to consider of such retrenches as should seem necessary.

Mr. Luke Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy, from his observations on the spirit of toleration throughout the continent, lamented that Ireland was the most intolerant country in all Europe, which he considered a high disgrace to the reformed religion. On the 13th of December, 1781, a conversation took place on the heads of a bill for giving further relief to his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, professing the Roman Catholic Religion, when Mr. Gardiner said, that he was taking the utmost pains to bring it forward in such a shape as would render it acceptable to every gentleman in the house, as in the case of such importance, unanimity was greatly to be desired. Several objections were taken to the time, to the nature of the concession, and to the inflamed state of the public mind. It went no

further than conversation. The house of commons met for the last time, before their adjournment on Christmas day, when Mr. Gardiner observed, that as many members had expressed their anxiety to know the purport of his intended bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, and as the house had given no orders for printing it, he would have it printed and distributed at his own expense, that gentlemen might have an opportunity of maturely considering it during the recess. On that occasion Mr. Grattan observed, that it was allowed on all sides, that some indulgence should be granted to the Roman Catholics. He wished the house to do it handsomely, for the merits and sufferings of the Roman Catholics claimed it from them. They were not to be judged by their creed, as understood by their adversaries: their actions proved them dutiful and loyal.

On the 31st January, 1782, Mr. Gardiner gave notice of his intention to bring in the heads of a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics in Ireland.\* The Hon. John Burke opposed the introduction of a bill that would abolish all the restraints which the wisdom of their ancestors had laid upon that people. Leave was given, however, without further opposition, to bring them in. On the 5th of February, Mr. Gardiner being indisposed, Mr. Dillon presented heads of a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, which brought on a debate in which several other leading members of the house declared their sentiments in favour of them. But on the order of the day for going into the bill, a conversation took place for the propriety of its being then committed, when the house which was uncommonly crowded with strangers, was appalled by Mr. Fitzgibbon apprising them† that till that morning he had never considered the bill as dangerous; but on reading it over carefully, the first clause struck him as a repeal of the act of settlement,

\* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 199.

† 1 Parl. Deb. p. 241.

the act of forfeiture, and the act of resumption ; that if so, it must destroy the new titles under the popery laws, and entangle the kingdom in a maze of confusion. He therefore intreated the friends of the Bill to agree with him in putting it off till those doubts could be done away ; or till that clause could be modified, so as to grant relief to the Catholics without injuring the persons holding under the new titles. Even the Attorney General consented to commit the Bill, to shew the people that the house was sincere, and fully resolved to give them the utmost that could with safety be granted. The house then went into a committee, when the bill was read, and the further consideration of it adjourned to a near day. Mr. Fitzgibbon abandoned his opinion which had given the alarm.

The great body of the people had arms in their hands and freedom in their hearts ; they were rising gradually into the use of arms, were organised into discipline, and united into one common object, the determination to attain legislative independence. The officers of the southern battalion of Lord Charlemont's Armagh regiment took the lead, and gave movement to the important measures of the volunteer army. They met and came to resolutions which they published throughout the province of Ulster and in Dublin. As Ireland owes so much to the volunteers the reader may be desirous to know the nature and spirit of their first public meeting : the following resolutions gave rise to all their future operations.

“ First Ulster Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont—

“ At a full meeting holden at Armagh, on Friday the 25th day of December, 1781, of the officers and delegates of the southern battalion of the said regiment, consisting of eleven companies pursuant to adjournment—

“ Francis Evans, Esq., in the chair—The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed in all the newspapers published in the

province of Ulster, and in the Volunteer Journal of the city of Dublin.

“*Resolved*—That with the utmost concern we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom, by the majority of those whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same.

“*Resolved*—That to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods must be pursued, to root out corruption and Court influence from the legislative body.”

The meeting, in consequence of this requisition, was one of the most important transactions in the modern annals of Ireland. As soon as this bold call appeared, the Castle took the alarm. Captain Evans was the ostensible man, but to take him up,

‘*Hic labor, hoc opus.*’—*Virg.*

*i.e.* This the difficulty, this the affair of *moment*.

“*Resolved*—That to open a path towards attaining this desirable point, it is absolutely requisite that a meeting be held in the most central town in the province of Ulster, which we conceive to be Dungannon, to which said meeting every volunteer association of the said province is most earnestly requested to send delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs, and to determine on, and publish to their country, what may be the result of said meeting.

“*Resolved*—That as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom from said intended meeting being held before the present parliament is much farther advanced, Friday the 15th day of February, next, at 10 o’clock in the forenoon, is hereby appointed for said meeting, at Dungannon, as aforesaid.

“*Resolved*—That as at said meeting, it is highly probable the idea of forming brigades will be agitated and considered, the several corps of volunteers who send delegates to said meeting, are requested to invest

in them a power to associate with them some one of such brigades as may be then formed.

FRANCIS EVANS, Chairman."

Whereas it might bring things to immediate extremities, to take no notice of it might be dangerous, a middle course was determined on, and every possible means were used to suppress the meeting: the words of the requisition were animadverted on, and many even of the best friends of Ireland, wished no meeting had been called. As the awful 15th day of February, 1782, approached, men of every description manifested their deep concern in the event. The administration was considered by them all to have treated the demands of the people with scorn: and they charged the parliament with having leagued with the administration against them. They had arms in their hands, but no chain of correspondence, which alone could give efficacy to their resolves. Thus circumstanced a meeting was formed, attended by Lord Charlemont, Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Stewart, member for Tyrone, and Mr. Dobbs, a barrister, at which were passed the famous resolutions of Dungannon.\* They were 21 in number, and their general substance as follows—"That whereas it had been asserted, that volunteers, as such, could not with propriety debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament, or public men, they resolved, that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, did not abandon any of his civil rights. That a claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, was unconstitutional, illegal and a grievance. That the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of poynings, were unconstitutional and a grievance. That the ports of Ireland were by right open to all foreign countries, not at

\* The chief town of Tyrone county, a borough; in its neighbourhood are several coal mines. Lon. 7. 12. W. lat. 54. 30 N.

war with the king. That a mutiny bill not limited in point of duration from session to session, was unconstitutional. That the independence of the judges was as essential\* to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England. That the minority in parliament who had supported their constitutional rights, were entitled to thanks. That four members from each county in the province of Ulster, be appointed a Committee, till the next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps there represented, and to communicate with other volunteer associations. That they would not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, until their exports should be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire. That they held the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others, as in themselves. And therefore as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the Penal-laws against their Roman Catholic fellow subjects.

*The Volunteers to the minority in Parliament.*

“To the Right Honorable and Honorable the Minority in both Houses of Parliament.

“My Lords and Gentlemen,

“We thank you for your noble and spirited though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on! the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you, and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights, and in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of success.

“Signed by order,

WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.”

\* Legum servanda fides, suprema voluntas,

Quod mandat fierique jubet parere necesse est.—*Virgil.*

*Translated*—Tis the supreme will, that the observance of the laws be kept, what they command and order to be done should be obeyed.

Thus ended the business of that memorable day. The meeting was in the church. The country rejoiced at the temper and firmness of the proceedings : its enemies were disappointed. To divide and rule, had been too long the odious policy of the castle. That of Dungannon was, to unite and be victorious. These resolutions were erected as the standard to which all the volunteers repaired. Committees of correspondence were formed, and the national committee crowned the business.

Within five days after the passing of the Dungannon resolutions, when the Roman Catholic bill was in the committee,\* Mr. Gardiner observed, that he was happy to find that liberal spirit of toleration, which had originated in that house, so widely diffused throughout the kingdom. The Delegates at Dungannon had proved, that the people of the North were as forward to grant toleration, as the Catholics could be to receive it. He hoped to obtain the unanimous approbation of the house ; and had therefore divided the indulgences which he thought ought to be granted to Roman Catholics, into five heads. The first, and that which he intended to propose to the committee, respected their enjoyment of property : the second, the free exercise of religion : the third, education : the fourth, marriage : and the fifth, which from the disposition of the committee, he did not then think expedient to agitate, regarded self-defence.

The attorney general and some other leading men in the commons, opposed the bill. Even Mr. Flood objected to Catholics acquiring any power in the state, which he contended they would by the ability of possessing freehold-land, which carried with it an influence in elections for members of parliament. The liberal and enlightened mind of Mr. Grattan was for the removal of every disability that deprived the Catholic of his full participation of the constitution. He spoke highly of the constitutional principles of the Catholic body.

\* Viz. on the 20th of February 1782. 1 Parl. Debates, p. 148.

Nor should it be mentioned as a reproach to them, that they fought under the banner of king James, when it was recollected, that before they entered the field, they extorted from him a Magna Charta, a British constitution. He should be ashamed of giving freedom to but six hundred thousand of his countrymen, when he could extend it to millions.

Fortunately for the Catholics, Mr. Gardiner's bill was not made a government question, or it would probably have fallen under the same majority which had uniformly opposed every constitutional question brought before them since the commencement of the American war. The nearer the fatal ministry of Lord North drew to its dissolution, the more violent were its agonising struggles against the patriotic efforts of Ireland to obtain a free and independent constitution. Within the octave of the great civic festival at Dungannon, Mr. Grattan as the herald and oracle of his armed countrymen, moved in the house of commons for an address to the king. On the 22nd February, 1792, he ushered in his motion with a brilliant speech, in which he referred by historical allusion to America, and the weakness of the administration, which occasioned its loss to Great Britain. "How futile and absurd (said he) are all the arguments, that teem on this occasion from the government press! I am for tranquillity, but when I see an administration unable to make a blow against an enemy, tyrannize over Ireland, I am bound to exert every power to oppose it." "Ireland is in strength by the weakness of Britain: for Ireland was saved when America was lost: when England conquered, Ireland was coerced; when she was defeated, Ireland was relieved; when Charleston\* was taken, the mutiny and sugar bills were altered. Have you not all when you heard of a defeat, at the same instant, condoled with England and congratulated Ireland." "If England were for a moment awake to her own

\* Charleston, a fortified city and seaport of South Carolina, taken by the British in 1780. Lon. 80. 2 W. Lat. 32. 48 N.

interests, she would come forward and invite us to her arms by doing away every cause of jealousy."

"To assure his Majesty with unfeigned attachment to his person and government; that the people of Ireland were a free people; the crown of Ireland a distinct kingdom with a parliament of her own; and that with one voice they protested against the interposition of any other parliament in its legislation. That the claim of the British parliament to legislate for Ireland, was useless to England, cruel to Ireland, and without any foundation in law. That impressed with a high sense of the British character and in reliance on his Majesty's paternal care, they had set forth their right and sentiments, without prescribing any mode to his Majesty, and threw themselves on his royal wisdom." Mr. Brownlow seconded the motion, remarking that the people knew their rights, and it was needless for government to pretend to oppose what must at last be obtained. The attorney general opposed the address by moving to have it put off to the first of August; which motion was carried by a majority of 137 against 68.

As government affected, that the late division against the address did not involve the question of right in Great Britain to bind Ireland by legislative acts, the patriots returned to the charge; but by a similar majority the ministry negatived Mr. Flood's \* two self-evident resolutions; that the members of that house were the only representatives of the people of Ireland, and that the consent of the commons was indispensably necessary to render any statute binding.

The heads of the Roman Catholic bills in their progress through the committee occasioned several warm debates. The first of them entitled, *An Act for the further relief of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, professing the Roman Catholic religion*,† taking notice, that the continuance of several of the popery laws

\* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 279. The division was 137 against 76.

† 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 24.

was unnecessary and injurious to Ireland, enabled Catholics to take, hold, and dispose of lands and hereditaments in the same manner as Protestants: except advowsons and manors, and boroughs returning members for parliament. It removed several penalties from such of the clergy as should have taken the oath of allegiance and been registered, and repealed several of the most noxious parts of the acts of Anne and Geo. I. and Geo. II.\* *The second Bill bespoke its purport upon the face of its title, "An Act to allow persons professing the popish religion, to teach school in this kingdom, and for the regulating the education of papists, and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianship of their children."* When Mr. Gardiner proposed his third bill which was for establishing intermarriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics, the house divided upon it, and the bill was negatived by a majority of eight.†

\* Such as the power given to a magistrate to fine and imprison every papist refusing to appear and declare upon oath when and where he had last heard mass, who celebrated and assisted at it, and the residence of any popish ecclesiastic; such as prohibited a papist to have a horse of the value of £5 under certain penalties, and which invested the chief governor with power to seize all their horses upon any invasion or intestine war likely to happen: such as enabled the grand jury to present the re-imbursing of all robberies and depredations of privateers in time of war upon the real and personal estate of the Catholics within the county; such as subjected every Catholic to certain penalties, who did not provide a Protestant watchman to watch in his turn: and such as subjected to certain penalties every Catholic who should take or purchase a house in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs thereof.

† 10 Journ. Com. p. 317.

## CHAPTER V.

The British Empire weakened by the loss of 100,000 lives, and the accumulation of a hundred millions of national debt; Lord Carlisle resigned the Lord Lieutenancy.—14th April, 1782, the Duke of Portland arrived as Viceroy; Ireland contemplated to become independent of British rule in their prescribing laws for the Irish.—Secretary Fox's message from George III; the state of Ireland was the subject of the message.—Agitated state of Ireland; eagerness in the King's speech to allay the ferment.—An address to the King; the Duke of Dorset well received in Dublin.—Mr. John Hely Hutchinson chief secretary for Ireland; Mr. Grattan and his deserts meet unbounded applause from Mr. Hutchinson.—Mr. Grattan peculiarly brilliant on the rights and privileges of the people; Houses of parliament would avail but little without the people.—Mr. Fitzgibbon versatile in his siding with the government, and afterwards with the people, in vindicating their rights; a congratulatory address voted to the Duke of Portland; another to Lord Carlisle.—May 4, 1782, Messrs. Fitzgibbon and Scott enthusiastically espouse the cause of the people, to which they had been previously opposed.—The Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland unanimous in recommending a reciprocal arrangement of what must tend to their mutual benefit.—£100,000 voted for raising 20,000 Seamen for the British Navy; the house came to a resolution of conferring on Mr. Grattan a pecuniary donation for his unbounded services and patriotism.—The sum of £50,000 was unanimously voted to purchase an estate and mansion for Henry Grattan, esq., and his heirs for ever.—The Volunteers influential in and out of parliament; they wished that a monument should be raised in Dungannon to perpetuate the memory of the celebrated meeting of their body there.—July 31, 1782, an encampment of the Volunteers, consisting of 4,000 men, took place in Belfast.—To the Rockingham administration Ireland owed her independence.—Earl Temple was married to the only daughter and child of Earl Nugent, who was born and brought up a Roman Catholic.—Lord Shelburne became Prime Minister after Rockingham.—Character of Earl Temple.—Peace made with America; this was well received in Ireland; Lord North and Mr. Fox coalesce.—March 17, 1783, the order of the Knights of St. Patrick instituted; June 3, Earl Northington succeeded Earl Temple; the Volunteers claimed the merit of obtaining the independence of their country.

1782.—The great opposition proceeded from the Archbishop of Cashel's influence. Several who held places under government were also adverse to it. Government gave neither countenance nor aid, though some of their supporters favoured the measure. These bills were viewed in very opposite lights by different characters; some considered them as ruinous to the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, and therefore opposed

them in every stage. Others considered them too liberal, although some encouragement ought to be given to the long tried and then much needed loyalty of the Catholics. A third class inclined to grant even more than these bills implied ; though they still maintained, that the Irish Catholics were to be kept in a civil subordination to the privileged order of Protestants. And a fourth unequivocally declared, that national justice and policy demanded the complete emancipation of the Catholics, and a perfect civil amalgamation of the whole Irish people \*

Although these and some other bills did not receive the royal assent during the vice-royalty of Lord Carlisle, yet having been brought forward under him, they may be considered as acts of his administration ; such also was the bill † for establishing a national bank of Ireland, with some other beneficial bills of regulation. As the Irish administration was but a subordinate part of that of Great Britain, it was natural that the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary should carry matters with a less high hand, when once they perceived the opposition of Great Britain gaining ground and hastening the downfall of that ill-fated ministry, which had weakened the British empire by the loss of her American colonies, ‡ the useless sacrifice of one hundred thousand lives, and the accumulation of a hundred millions of national debt.

One of the last acts of Mr. Eden's in the commons, was the communication of his Majesty's answer to their

\* 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. xvi.

† Mr. Burke in a letter to a peer of Ireland upon this bill, (printed in London 1785.) says, " To look at the bill in the abstract, it is neither more nor less than a renewed act of universal, unmitigated, indispensable, exceptionless disqualification. One would imagine, that a bill inflicting such a multitude of incapacities had followed upon the heels of a conquest made by a very fierce enemy, under the impression of recent animosity and resentment. No man, on reading that bill, could imagine he was reading an act of amnesty and indulgence. It has surely much more the air of a table of proscriptions, than an act of grace.

‡ The first unequivocal symptom of the downfall of Lord North's administration, was the resignation of Lord George Germaine. The unpopularity, treatment, and conduct of the American secretary, and several important circumstances relative to the change of that administration, may be seen in Plowden's Hist. Review, Vol. I. p. 584.

address relative to the affairs of Portugal. Lord Carlisle foreseeing in the change of ministry a total change of ministers and measures with reference to Ireland, and having received no fresh instructions or support from the British Cabinet, wished only to carry some of the then pending bills up to the lords ; and on the 14th March, 1782, adjourned the parliament to the 16th of April. By that time a general change having taken place in the British ministry, Mr. Eden went to London with Lord Carlisle's resignation of the lieutenancy, desiring only time to make some necessary arrangements, and to close the session of parliament.

On the 14th of April, 1782, the Duke of Portland arrived in Dublin, and immediately took upon himself the government of Ireland. Mr. Eden speedily after his arrival in England, laid before the British parliament \* a view of Ireland during the two last years, acquainted the house with the measures which (he said) were then forming, for rendering it totally independent of the British legislature, and concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 6th of Geo. I. as asserted a right in the king and parliament of Great Britain, to make laws to bind that kingdom. The precipitancy with which a business of such magnitude and importance was thus attempted to be forced on the house, without previous communication with any of his majesty's ministers, or knowledge of their intentions, was severely censured, and especially as it appeared, that the Rt. Hon. Gentleman had refused to give any official information to government, relative to the state of the country he had just left ; Mr. Eden though loudly called on to withdraw his motion, persisted in urging its necessity ; and in vindica-

\* The debate upon the situation of Ireland, upon 8th April, 1782, in the British house of commons, was so illustrative of the ancient system of governing Ireland ; so explanatory of the views and motives of the British Cabinet, in the different measures they imposed upon that kingdom, that the reader may be gratified in learning from the mouths of the actors themselves, a complete narrative of this great revolution in the Kingdom of Ireland. In the appendix of Plowden's Historical Review LXVIII. the whole debate is given.

tion of his own conduct, stated, that the reason of his refusing to have any communication with his Majesty's present servants, was the great want of attention to the Earl of Carlisle, which they had showed in the mode of appointing his successor, and in his removal from the lord-lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire. This apology served rather to increase the displeasure of the house : a motion of censure was threatened on his conduct ; and it was with difficulty he was influenced to comply with the general wish of the house, to withdraw his motion. Mr. Fox informed the house in the course of his debate, that the ministers of the crown during the short time they had been in office, had holden three or four councils solely on the affairs of Ireland ; and that he hoped very soon, perhaps within the next four and twenty hours, to lay some preparatory measure before them. On the very next day, viz. April 9th, 1782, Mr. Secretary Fox communicated the following message to the House.

“GEORGE REX.

“His Majesty being concerned to find, that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this house, to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both Kingdoms. G. R.”

Mr. Secretary Fox expressed in strong terms the sincere wishes of His Majesty's Ministers to secure the peace and welfare of Ireland. The hasty step proposed by Mr. Eden would have been unwise and impolitic. It was the duty of government to conclude an arrangement for posterity, as well as for the present day, and in quieting the existing jealousies, to establish such a principle of relation and constitution, as should prevent future discontents from arising. He believed it would be easy for the King's Ministers to do as their predecessors had done ; to patch up a temporary cessation of claims, and leave those which were to come after them,

all the dangers of an unsettled constitution, for the mean advantage of clearing themselves from difficulties which they had not the courage to meet with fairness. He then moved an address to return His Majesty thanks for his most gracious message ; and to assure His Majesty, that the house feeling with His Majesty the deepest concern, that discontents and jealousies should have arisen among His Majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland, would, without delay, take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment, as might give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

The Duke of Portland on his arrival in Dublin was received with excessive demonstrations of joy. When the Parliament met according to adjournment, on the 16th of April, the galleries and bar of the house were crowded, and expectation was raised to enthusiasm. As soon as the speaker had taken the chair, Mr. John Hely Hutchinson, His Majesty's chief secretary of state, rose, and announced to the house, that he was charged by the Lord Lieutenant to communicate to them a message from His Majesty, of the same tenor as that which had been communicated to both houses of the British Parliament. He addressed them not as an officer of the crown, but as a gentleman of the country. He spoke determinately in favor of the legislative independence of Ireland. In mentioning Mr. Grattan \* in terms most honorable, but not exceeding his deserts, he said, he would ever live in the hearts of his countrymen. The present age and posterity would be indebted to him for the greatest of all obligations, and would (but he hoped at a great distance of time) inscribe on his tomb, that he had redeemed the liberties of his country. Mr. George Ponsonby moved an address to His Majesty thanking him for his most gracious message, and assuring him, that his faithful commons would immediately

\* Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadæ, semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt. Virgil. Ec.

*Translated.*—And while the bees will feed upon the thyme, and grasshoppers upon the dew, thy honor, thy praises and thy name shall ever remain.

proceed upon the great objects he had recommended to their consideration. Mr. Grattan after a speech of universal brilliancy, moved an amendment to the address \* which imported a repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. including a restoration of the appellant jurisdiction to the Lords of Ireland, an abolition of the unconstitutional power of privy councils, and a repeal of the mutiny bill. The judges bill he refrained from mentioning as he heard it was returned. His motion was unanimously agreed to.

The short space of six weeks had scarcely elapsed, since the house of commons had triumphantly boasted of their steady adherence to the dictates of the British Cabinet in rejecting every effort of the patriots to attain that constitutional liberty which they had been labouring for years to secure. The versatility of that majority in supporting the propositions which they had before rejected, is a political phenomenon of curious observation. The ministerial members of independent fortune

\* He said he had nothing to add, but to admire with what steady virtue the people had asserted their own rights. He was not very old and yet he remembered Ireland a child. He had watched her growth; from infancy she grew to arms: from arms to liberty. She was not now afraid of the French: she was not now afraid of the English: she was not now afraid of herself. Her sons were no longer an arbitrary gentry; a ruined commonalty; protestants suppressing catholics; catholics groaning under oppression: she was now an united land.

"This house agreeing with the voice of the nation passed the popery bill, and by so doing got more than it gave, yet found advantages from generosity, and grew rich in the act of charity. Ye gave not, but ye formed an alliance between the protestant and the catholic powers, for the security of Ireland. What signifies it, that three hundred men in the house of commons—what signifies it, that one hundred men in the house of peers—assert their country's liberty, if unsupported by the people. But there is not a man in Ireland; there is not a grand jury; there is not an association; there is not a corps of Volunteers; there is not a meeting of their delegates, which does not maintain the independence of the Irish constitution and pledge themselves to support the parliament in fixing that constitution on its rightful basis; not long ago the meeting at Dungannon was considered a very alarming measure, but I thought otherwise; I approved of it, and considered the meeting of Dungannon as an original transaction. As such only it was matter of surprise. What more extraordinary transaction than the attainment of Magna Charta! That was not attained in parliament, but by the barons unarmed and in the field. A great original transaction is not founded on precedent, it contains in itself both reason and precedent; the revolution had no precedent."

rose in succession to purify their past conduct from any interested or corrupt motive. Even Mr. Fitzgibbon defied the house to charge him with ever having asserted "*the supremacy of the British parliament*:" though he confessed he had voted with ministers against the *declaration of rights*, as judging it then improper to be moved. This gentleman spoke a new language in the face of his country,\* that *as the nation was then committed to obtain a restoration of their rights, it behoved every man to stand firm.*

A congratulatory address to the Duke of Portland was proposed by Mr. O'Neil, and unanimously voted. Mr. Fitzgibbon then observed, that as the suddenness of Lord Carlisle's departure had rendered it impossible to convey to him the opinion entertained of his administration in the way of address, he should move a resolution of that tendency, which was seconded by Mr. Daly. Mr. Grattan, who had opposed most of his measures,† felt himself called upon to resist it; but the resolution was carried without a division.

On the 4th of May, 1782, the house adjourned for three weeks, in order to give time for the determination of the British ministry in respect to their claim for a declaration of rights. On this occasion a conversation ensued, in which Mr. Fitzgibbon and Mr. Scott † spoke on the independent rights of Ireland, which they had hitherto invariably opposed, with as much enthusiasm as the most ardent patriot under the late administration. The state of Ireland was fairly brought under the consideration of his Majesty's servants on the same day (May 17, 1782,) in both houses, by the Earl of Shelburne in the peers, and by Mr. Fox in the commons. After a most liberal, instructive and constitutional speech from each of these accomplished orators and statesmen, the following motions were proposed. First, "*That* it was the opinion of that house, that the act of the 6th of George I. entitled, *An act for the better secu-*

\* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 342.

† i. e. Lord Clare and Lord Clonmel.

*ring the dependence of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain*, ought to be repealed. Second, That it was the opinion of that house, that it was indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms, that the connection between them should be established by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent footing, and that an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to take such measures as his Majesty would, in his Royal wisdom, think most conducive to that important subject."

The Earl of Carlisle, in an elegant speech, though recalled from his government in no flattering manner, most liberally expressed his approbation of the motions. He bore ample testimony to the zeal and loyalty of the Irish, and particularly stated the honorable conduct of the Volunteers, and the liberal offers made of their service, when Ireland was threatened with invasion. Lord Loughborough alone in the peers, no one in the commons, opposed the motions.

On the 27th of May, 1782, the parliament of Ireland met according to adjournment, when the Duke of Portland \* in a gracious speech from the throne, expressing his satisfaction at assuring the Irish parliament, that the British legislature had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of their discontents and jealousies, and had united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in their late addresses to the throne. After the speech had been read, Mr. Grattan with his usual eloquence bore testimony to the candid and unqualified manner in which Great Britain had given up, *in toto*. every claim to authority over Ireland, and that unconditionally, which must for ever remove suspicion, and put an end to all future questions. They had recovered a constitution and their business was to maintain it. He recommended that they should make an unconditional grant to England of £100,000, for raising 20,000 seamen for the British Navy, which were af.

\* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 855.

terwards voted. He then moved an address devoid of all fulsome panegyric, and containing nothing but the truth. Mr. Brownlow seconded the motion. Almost the whole house rose successively to make public profession of their joy and gratitude on the happy event.

No sooner had this motion been disposed of, than Mr. Bagnal, after having congratulated his country, Great Britain, the King and his ministers, for having obtained the greatest of all political blessings, called upon the house to confer some signal mark of a great and grateful nation upon their illustrious benefactor Mr. Grattan, whose efforts in procuring them these blessings, had been timed and conducted with so much wisdom; and considering this great and good man as the father of his regenerated country, he further called upon them to look upon him as the special instrument which benign providence had used to convert the oppression and bondage of their country into freedom and independence. He therefore gave notice that on the morrow, after the grant to his Majesty should have been settled, and a proper thanksgiving offered to Heaven for the recovery of their rights, he would move that the house should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration, what sum they should grant for the purchasing an estate and building a suitable mansion for their illustrious benefactor Henry Grattan Esq. and his heirs for ever, in testimony of their gratitude for the unequalled service he had done for the Kingdom of Ireland. This was afterwards fixed at the sum of £50,000 \* in the committee, which resolution the house unanimously agreed to and resolved, that an address should be presented to the Lord Lieutenant to lay before his Majesty the humble desire of that house, that he would direct such sum so to be laid out in testimony of the gratitude of the nation for Mr. Grattan's eminent and unequalled services, and that the house would make good the same.

A day of general thanksgiving was proclaimed, and

\* Viz. On 27th May, 1782. 9. Journ. Com. p. 357.

for the moment happiness pervaded every part of the kingdom. It was, however, but short lived. Within three days after Mr. Bagnal's motion, Mr. Montgomery\* called the attention of the house to Mr. Flood, who had relinquished the most lucrative office of the state, rather than desert the constitution of Ireland : and as he knew the present administration intended to raise its glory by acting on the most liberal principles of freedom, he gave notice of his intention to move an address to his majesty, for restoring Mr. Flood to the office he lately held, and in this he hoped for the concurrence of the minister. He would not, he said, move for any pecuniary reward, as he knew the Right Hon. Gentleman in question was above receiving alms from his country. Col. Fitzpatrick observed, that the place of Mr. Flood was filled by Sir George Yonge, whose ill offices to Ireland were severely pointed at *by Mr. Walsh*. Colonel Fitzpatrick maintained the impropriety of breaking in upon the discretionary exercise of the prerogative, and suggested, that the regular method would be to move first for an address to remove Sir George Yonge from his employment.

The volunteers had been too long inured to arms as well as to the agitation of political subjects, not to partake of the enthusiastic spirit of the times ; frequent appeals were made to them by persons in parliament, and the volunteers assumed a consequence little short of legislative control ; provincial meetings were called to take into consideration addresses suitable to the occasion. Some meetings explicitly avowed their intentions to canvass the proceedings of their representatives in parliament ; an address was voted to the Duke of Portland, and another to Lord Charlemont, appointing him general of the volunteers of Ulster. An address likewise was voted to Mr. Grattan, expressive of the satisfaction felt by the volunteers at the conferring of £50,000 for his energies and services to Ireland. A resolution suggested by Mr. Knox for raising by their aid the 20,000 seamen already named—besides which, the erection of a monu-

\* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 381, 30th May, 1782.

ment at Dungannon, to Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan, was decided upon. An address to his majesty was forwarded and committed to some gentlemen to be presented. They sailed for England and were politely received by Lord Shelbourne. A review of the volunteers at Belfast was now at hand.\* On 31st July an encampment of 3,000 was formed ; to this the garrison, consisting of 1,000, was added. A meeting of the officers was held, in which were discussed many resolutions, some tending to reconcile differences which had been fomented ; in the end, discord was allayed, and confidence diffused throughout the province.

To the Rockingham administration Ireland owed her independence as established in 1782. In this, Lord Shelburne took a prominent part. Upon the demise of Lord Rockingham, Shelburne contrived to have himself substituted in his place, and selected accordingly Earl Temple as fittest to be placed at the head of the Irish government then said to be independent. He had been married to the only child of Earl Nugent ; † she was brought up in the religion of her ancestors, and her father settled upon her the bulk of his large domains in Ireland. Lord Nugent proved himself on every occasion a sincere lover of his country. The gratitude of the Irish to his son-in-law, the character and accomplishments of the new viceroy, and the virtues of his amiable consort, all tended to ensure him a cordial welcome. He succeeded the Duke of Portland (who remained to finish the business of the session,) on 15th September 1782, and was received with public expressions of joy and satisfaction. During the short period of Lord Temple's continuance in the government of Ireland, his chief attention appears to have been directed to a system of economy, in the different departments ; a reformation pre-eminently necessary. The short-lived administration of Lord Shelburne, of which Lord Temple was a principal support, terminated the viceregency of the latter, on

\* Plowden, Vol. II. p. 234.

† He was a Roman Catholic ; he seceded from his religion, to which he returned before his death.

June 3rd, 1783. He was in power long enough to bring on himself the chagrin and disappointed hopes of the subaltern officers of the castle, who dreaded a scrutiny into their abuses ; but not long enough for the nation to feel the happy effects of so laudable an investigation. During the Rockingham administration an end was put to the unhappy war with North America, by a resolution in the British House of Commons, in February 1782, to address his majesty against the further prosecution of the war on the continent of America, and for the restoration of the blessings of peace, which was concluded by Lord Shelburne's administration. The solemn termination of this unnatural and unfortunate war spread joy throughout the Irish nation, and reconciled it, in part, for the unexpected change of rule which had established their freedom and independence.

In the discussion of the preliminary articles of the peace with America, by Mr. Secretary Townsend, a memorable coalition was formed between Lord North and Mr. Fox. Several of their friends reprobated the terms of the peace. While the British senate were discussing, with alternate concord and discord, the treaty of peace with America, the corporation of Dublin presented a respectful and affectionate address to the Lord Lieutenant, to which he replied in terms of reciprocal kindness. By giving additional lustre to the national feelings, it was decided to establish the order of knighthood of the illustrious name of St. Patrick, and accordingly on 17th March, the festival of the saint, fifteen of the prime among the nobility, were installed with pomp and solemnity. Earl Northington succeeded Lord Temple, *June 3, 1783*. A dissolution of parliament followed immediately : on 15th July, the whole kingdom was thrown by this into a political fever. The volunteers assumed to themselves the whole merit, without allowing any to their representatives, of having obtained the constitution of Great Britain. They considered it disgraceful to quit their arms, while anything remained to be done which could benefit Ireland.

## CHAPTER VI.

The aristocratic members most numerous in Parliament, and influential; Lord Northington addressing the house on the privileges recently conceded.—The government concurred with the commons that a vote of thanks should be passed to the Volunteers for their zeal to defend the country, &c.—Sir Edward Newenham assailed the British Ministry for their puny faith towards the people of Ireland; Messrs. Flood and Grattan quarrelled, and were put under an arrest to prevent a duel.—A wish, on the part of Government, to disband the Volunteers, began to display itself; the people assembled in crowds around the Parliament House to intimidate.—A national convention assembled in Dublin on 10th November, 1782; the Earl of Charlemont was nominated their Chairman; Government alarmed and contemplated to arrest him.—The power of the Volunteers in forcing measures of reform was censured by government wishing to suppress them; Mr. Flood firmly maintained that the Volunteers were right and the government wrong.—Mr. Grattan, the friend of reform; proved himself its undeviating champion, recommending a union of principle between the Parliament and the Volunteers.—Mr. Flood retired to England, dissatisfied with the events that had arisen.—The Duke of Rutland succeeded Lord Northington, Feb 24, 1784; a vote of thanks passed to the latter by Mr. W. P. Ponsonby, this was given by a majority of 44.—Administration of the Duke of Rutland in Ireland; Mr. Pitt, Prime Minister; a total reform was anticipated under the rule of Pitt, Richmond, and Rutland; petitions from thirteen towns and counties in favour of reform.—Attempts of government to dissolve the Volunteers; the citizen and soldier excited against each other; evil and outrageous consequences of disseminating mutual discord.—A Paving bill introduced by Sir John Blacquiere, opposed by the citizens; the editors of Newspapers restrained in the liberty of the press.—Publishers and printers treated with severe restrictions; the Duke of Rutland prorogues parliament; outrages of the populace; the military called out to suppress them.—Petitions from counties and chief towns, together with Dublin, presented to his Excellency for his transmission of them to England; his refusal.—Mr. Reilly, High Sheriff of the county Dublin, sentenced by Court of King's Bench, to fine and imprisonment; Pitt's evasive replies for Reform.—The Ulster corps of Volunteers and the Earl of Charlemont; the High Sheriff of Dublin proceeded against by an attachment; he was fined and imprisoned; the Volunteers became divided into parties; Pitt prepares his strong system of measures.—Government excites division among the Volunteer corps, and makes the affair of the Roman Catholics the cause of disunion.—The White Boys allayed in their attempts at outrage by the pastoral letter of Dr. Troy, then Bishop of Ossory.—A meeting of Delegates was held in Dublin, from 27 counties, but the voice of the people for Reform became abated, and government-hopes of how it would end, succeeded; Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—Pitt's words must appear to every Irish ear of puny import and deception; Pitt again deceiving the Irish; Pitt's attempts to fetter and circumscribe the trade and commerce of Ireland; this produced resolutions among the people of Dublin not to import goods from England.

ON the 1st July, 1783, at a meeting of delegates from forty-five companies of Ulster Volunteers assembled at Lisburn, in consequence of a public requisition, it was unanimously resolved, that a general meeting of delegates should be held at Dungannon on 8th September following. The eve of a dissolution, and speculations on the future representation of the people, worked, like magic, on the volunteer corps, who contemplated enthusiastically to effect a complete change in the representation of the country. The house of commons consisted of three hundred members ; sixty-four of them were sent by the counties, the remainder by the cities and boroughs. The sixty-four from the counties, were in some measure at the option of the people, and about as many more from the cities and boroughs, might by extraordinary exertions be freely chosen ; under that calculation, the people might send 128 members to parliament : the other close boroughs sent the remainder, 172. These were the property of some few lords and commoners, and being the majority, the house of commons, as it stood, was consequently the representative of an aristocracy.\* The several resolutions made in contemplation of and at the convention of Dungannon, were emphatically expressive of the necessity of reform, and were circulated with unabating industry.

When the new parliament met, Lord Northington congratulated them upon their being in full possession and enjoyment of those constitutional and commercial advantages, which had been so firmly established by the last parliament. It was judiciously contrived by government, that a motion should be made for the thanks of the house to the Volunteers, for their spirited endeavours to provide for the protection of their country, and for their ready and frequent assistance to the civil magistrate in enforcing the due execution of the laws. This being unanimously carried, prevented any other motion, likely to be dictated by the intemperate zeal of

\* The several letters, addresses and resolutions upon the subject of reform, may be seen in Plowden's Historical Review, Vol. II. p. 33 to 43.

some Volunteer member, that might have attributed very different results to the armed associations, whereas very different effects were produced by them.

On the second day of the session Mr. Gardiner moved a vote of thanks to the late governor Lord Temple. He had received addresses of thanks from every county in the kingdom, for his conduct as chief governor, and nothing but the sanction of that house was necessary to render the thanks of the people universal.\* Mr. Cuffe† seconded the motion, as having been witness to the many anxious days and nights he had spent in preparing plans for the welfare of Ireland, which his short stay prevented from being carried into execution.

‡ Sir Henry Cavendish moved for retrenching the government expenses, which brought on a most violent debate, and a division, which ascertained the force of the opposition to the administration of Lord Northington. Mr. Flood warmly supported his friend's motion; but recommended an amendment to extend the retrenchments to the *military establishment*. Sir Edward Newenham charged the British ministry with having taken the royal closet by assault, under pretence of economy, and lessening the undue influence of the crown; they had deceived the people: for in Ireland their substitutes proved the friends of prodigality, and enemies to economy: in power their actions were the reverse of what their professions had been when out. Government resisted the motion as premature, till the national accounts had been got into. The debate became so personal and over-heated between the two rival-patriots, Messrs. Flood and Grattan, that they were both ordered into custody, in order to prevent any mischievous consequences from their unhappy difference. Twenty-seven divided for the motion, and eighty-four against it.

\* Only three gentlemen stood forth in the invidious light of opposing this vote of thanks. They had all three been charged as public defaulters, or as debtors to the king.

† Afterwards Lord Tyrawley.

‡ 11 Jour. Com. p. 35.

So unwearied was the present opposition, at the head of which stood Mr. Flood, in pressing military and other retrenchments, that they omitted no opportunity during the session of bringing them forward, but always with the like failure of success. Their party consisted of about one sixth of the house, and as usual few were moved from their ranks by eloquence, argument, or reason. When Mr Foster had reported the resolutions from the committee of supply, Sir Edward Newenham proposed the granting of the supplies for six months, when Mr. Grattan observed, that the question had been already debated and decided ; yet but let parliamentary reform be tacked to the money bill, and he would agree to it. The spirit of the people was with the opposition. Government was sensible, that the volunteers performed their function and wished therefore to disband them with prudence and effect.

When the protecting duties were brought before the house, they were supported by government, which the half-starved unemployed manufacturers expected : they had been taught to consider them essentially necessary for the support of trade ; they flocked round the parliament house in anxious expectation of the protecting duties being established in their favour. Government took offence at the concourse of people crowding the avenues to the house, and considered the assemblage brought thither by the opposition to intimidate. The opposition insisted, that the people came thither as supplicants not as rioters. When they were dispersed, many of them declared they were set on by those who wished to oppose the measures of government. The opposition called for acts instead of professions of economy. Government was pursuing the speediest measures for disbanding the volunteers. Opposition looking to the attainment of further advantages, considered their influence as necessary to procure the future, as it had been effectual in acquiring the past.

The next popular measure urged was a reform in the representation of the people. In consequence of the

resolutions of the Dunganon meeting, delegates were appointed to form a national convention which assembled in Dublin on the 10th of November, 1793, when the Earl of Charlemont was nominated their chairman. They entered into resolutions on the subject, and requested Mr. Flood to introduce a bill for that purpose. Government was seriously alarmed, and the privy council had actually determined on arresting the chairman and secretary of the meeting; but considering this measure hazardous, they contrived to divide the opinion of the assembly respecting the extension of certain privileges to Roman Catholics. The common interest being thus disunited, the efforts of the convention became less formidable, and all means were devised to decry them in parliament.\*

When Mr. Flood moved to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament, he was more firmly opposed by the Attorney General; because it originated with an armed body, which, though they had the glory of having preserved the domestic peace of their country, and rendered it formidable to foreign enemies, were now forming themselves into a debating society, and with the bayonet, were forcing the question, whether that house or the convention, were the representatives of the people, and whether parliament or the volunteers were to be obeyed. Mr. Flood supported the cause of reform with resistless eloquence. He maintained, that the bill was not the order of any other assembly; no appearance of hostility nor control appeared in the application. The volunteers had not lined the streets, nor were drawn up before the house. They had given their opinion with all humbleness and deference to the representatives, and begged them to take it up. They had prostrated themselves at the feet of parliament. Scarcely a member who had ever opened his mouth in the house, was silent upon this important occasion. Several who had admitted the necessity of reform voted against it, under the circumstance of the

\* 2 Parl. Deb. p. 353.

sitting of a national convention of delegates who had previously agitated the question. and were waiting the result of its discussion in parliament. Towards the close of the debate, Mr. Grattan spoke for a short time, declaring himself entirely and firmly the friend of reform. He recommended union between the parliament and the illustrious body of volunteers, which it should be the study of his life to preserve.

Upon a division, 49 were for receiving the bill and 158 against it. Then Mr. Attorney General moved, That it was become necessary to declare, that the house would maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever, which resolution was carried by 150 against 68. Mr. Conolly closed the business by a motion, which was carried unanimously, for addressing his majesty on their perfect satisfaction in his government and their present happy constitution, which they are now determined to support with their lives and fortunes ; Mr. Flood,\* immediately after this debate, went over to England, apparently dissatisfied with the failure of his party.

Immediately upon the change of ministry in England, Lord Northington resigned ; his successor, the Duke of Rutland, was appointed Feb. 24, 1784. When the parliament assembled in January, a vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. W. B. Ponsonby to be presented to Lord Northington, which produced an angry debate. The opposition objected to it, conceiving the address to

\* As Mr. Flood was one of the most brilliant characters of the latter days of Ireland, from which he appears to have retired in disgust, it may be agreeable to the reader to have his portrait from the pen of his rival, Mr. Grattan, "Mr. Flood, my rival as the pamphlet calls him—and I should be unworthy the character of his rival, if in his grave I did not do him justice—he had his faults—but he had great powers; great public effect; he persuaded the old, he inspired the young; the castle vanished before him; on a small subject he was miserable; put into his hands a distaff, and like Hercules, he made sad work of it; but give him the thunderbolt, and he had the arm of Jupiter; he misjudged, when he transferred himself to the English Parliament; he forgot, that he was a tree of the forest, too old and too great to be transplanted at fifty, and his seat in the British Parliament is a caution to the friends of union to stay at home and make the country of their birth the seat of their actions."

import an oblique censure on the Volunteers, and an absolute rejection of parliamentary reform. The late ministerial party urged in its favour the Lord-lieutenant's patriotic refusal of £4000 per annum, as an additional allowance, in order to avoid an additional burden to the public debt. The period of eight months' viceregency, they contended, had not afforded an opportunity of reaping the fruits of the plans he had so wisely laid for the benefit of the country. The vote of thanks passed without amendment by a majority of 44.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

With this governor commenced the administration of Mr. Pitt\* which ended in the incorporated union of Ireland with Great Britain. This period of Irish history is peculiarly interesting, inasmuch as it discloses the means by which England exercised its influence over that kingdom with more effect and less disguise than before she had acquired a constitution and legislative independence. The opponents of the Rockingham administration were extravagantly elated upon the new appointments, for in the names of Pitt, Richmond, and Rutland, they read three of the staunchest friends of parliamentary reform : laying their immediate failure to carry this favourite measure, as well as those of a reduction in the army establishment, retrenchment of the expenditures of the civil departments and protecting duties,† to the insincerity of the short-lived administration of the Whigs ; they anticipated the zealous cooperation of their opponents and successors in completing the civil liberty of Ireland.

When the house met, according to adjournment, a congratulatory address was unanimously voted to the Duke of Rutland. On one day, thirteen petitions from

\* A name ominous and inauspicious to Ireland. Under him the never-to-be-forgotten system of orangeism arose, which set man against man, and ended in wresting from Ireland a domestic legislature, and effecting between both countries, an union of evil tendency to Ireland.

† *i.e.* for protecting their own manufactures and enforcing the consumption of them at home, by laying heavy and prohibitory duties on similar manufactures imported from foreign countries.

counties and populous boroughs were presented to the house of commons, by their respective representatives, praying a reform of the state of representation of the people in Parliament. The nation was now in the height of a political fever : elated with what they had obtained ; soured by disappointment at being refused what they were taught to believe was still wanting to complete their freedom. The undisguised attempts both of Parliament and Government, to discredit and dissolve the Volunteers ; the failure of the opposition to procure a reduction of the military establishment at the return of peace, all tended to foment jealousies between the citizen and the soldier.\*

Mr. Flood had no sooner returned from England than he moved for leave to bring in a bill for a more equal representation of the people in parliament: it was vehemently urged by Mr. Flood, and supported, though less warmly, by Mr. Grattan. The numbers were 85 for reform, and 159 against it. Thus was the spirit of the new administration soon discovered to be hostile to the popular wish for reform. The rejection of this, and some other popular measures, sharpened the animosity of the people, even to outrage, against several members of the house of commons.

The severity with which the house of commons censured the publishers of some popular newspapers, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin for not preventing their circulation and calling in the military, added fuel to the discontents of the populace, which at last amounted to a tumultuous rising in Dublin. This unruly spirit of discontent was further fomented by the unpopularity of

\* Every circumstance tending to alienate the minds of the citizens from the soldiery is, in our constitution, of more than ordinary consequence. A riot had lately happened at Island Bridge, where the outrages of the soldiery had exceeded the rules of military discipline, or even of common humanity. This exasperated the populace. In retaliation they had recourse to the barbarous practice of houghing the soldiers, whenever they found them straggling and *off their guard*. This induced General Luttrell to bring in a bill to give better protection to soldiers and others, against the barbarous practice of houghing.

Sir John Blaquiere's paving bill,\* against which the house would neither hear counsel at their bar, nor receive a petition from the inhabitants at large. In this licentious disposition of the public mind, Mr. Foster, who had been marked as an object of obloquy in the newspapers, brought in a bill for restraining the liberty of the press, which was the only remaining subject of importance agitated in parliament during the session. It met with some opposition, though the provisions of it went no further than to make known the real name of the printer or proprietor of every newspaper. It was, however, disrelished by the people.

Their irritation was also increased by the house of commons having ordered their Sergeant-at-Arms to take the publishers and printers of the offensive newspapers out of the custody of the civil power, and commit them over to military escorts, under which they were more severely treated than they could have been by the civil authorities. These illegal stretches of power were censured in parliament, and produced great displeasure in the public mind. The proposal of a vote of thanks to the new Lord-lieutenant, occasioned heated debates in the commons; and the failure of Mr. Flood's reform bill, and other popular measures, did not ingratiate him with the people out of doors.

The first time the Duke of Rutland personally addressed the parliament, was when proroguing it, on the 4th of May, 1784. The difficulties of the session were greater without than within the walls of the Senate. Appeals were made by some of the members to the armed associations, when the session was over, upon the questions lost in parliament. The discontent and violence of the people increased. The populace frequently assembled and committed outrages, even in the

\* The Recorder reprobated the bill as a system of unexampled tyranny and oppression. It placed, he said, in the hands of a set of low persons, (for commissioners acting for £150 a year could be no other) a power to fine and torment with all the insolence of authority, every citizen of Dublin. It gave them power to raise taxes, and borrow money: to summon whomsoever they thought proper, before their tribunal, and upon neglect or disobedience, to impose a fine of £40.

American fashion of “tarring and feathering.”\* More serious consequences were prevented by calling out the military.

A principal objection to the introduction of Mr. Flood's bill for a parliamentary reform, was, that it originated with an armed body. The sheriffs and chief magistrates were therefore called upon to convene the inhabitants of their respective counties, to discuss that measure fully, and a meeting was convened in Dublin, on the 7th of June, 1784, at which the high sheriff presided, and at which strong resolutions were agreed upon. A very animated address from the Committee to the people of Ireland was published, and a petition, or remonstrance, from the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city of Dublin to the throne, to encourage parliamentary reform, and correct many other abuses, was presented to the Lord-lieutenant by the high sheriffs, with an address to his excellency requesting it might be transmitted to England; to which his excellency answered, that in complying with their request, “he should not fail to convey his entire disapprobation of it, as casting unjust reflections upon the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken the authority of both.”

These proceedings of the city of Dublin were seconded by other parts of the kingdom, but their object was frustrated by the interposition of Government. Prosecutions by information were commenced against different persons by whom such aggregate meetings had been assembled, and Mr. Reilly, the high sheriff of the county of Dublin, was sentenced to fine and imprisonment by the Court of King's Bench. Notwithstanding their repeated defeats, such was the credulous enthusiasm of the majority of these advocates for reform, that even

\* “*Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est  
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;*

*Tamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.*” Virgil.

*Translated.*—Alike to this, when a tumult bursts forth in a numerous assemblage; the ignoble multitude are enraged; the stones and torches fly; their fury supplies weapons.

after the angry answer of the Lord-lieutenant, they could not be persuaded that either his grace or his reforming colleague, Mr. Pitt, had renounced their principles. On 8th July, a petition to the king was conveyed to Mr. Pitt by the inhabitants of Belfast, nearly of the same tenor with that of the citizens of Dublin. In September following, Mr. Pitt by his answer convinced them how little earnest the new administration was to promote the reform, which before it came into power it had espoused. He admitted himself still a friend to reform, but on grounds very different from those adopted in their petition. That what was there proposed, he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than any which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy.

The cause of reform received a severe blow from the disunion of the volunteers, on the subject of admitting the Roman Catholics to the rights of election. In an address presented by the Ulster corps to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, they hinted at the necessity of calling in the aid of the Catholics ; to which he objected not from illiberal prejudice, for he was full of good will towards that respectable body, but because it would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose. The thanks of the corporation of the city of Dublin, were voted to him for his conduct on that occasion. The meeting of a national congress was a measure of too alarming a nature not to attract the serious attention of government. The Attorney General menaced the sheriff who had called the meeting for electing delegates. On the other hand, strong resolutions were agreed to upon the right of assembling for redress of grievances. Government from denouncing threats proceeded to punishments. The high sheriff for the county of Dublin was proceeded against by attachment from the Court of King's Bench. He was again fined and imprisoned. This mode of legal process which precluded the functions of a jury, met with slight opposition on account of the new division of the volun-

teers into parties. Informations were also moved for, and attachments granted against the printers and publishers of Newspapers for inserting the resolutions, and against the magistrates for signing them. This was one of the first essays of Mr. Pitt's system of preparing the public for strong measures, by creating internal disunion and alarm.

The severity of government deterred not the national congress from meeting according to appointment, although several of its most respectable members absented themselves. They adjourned after having passed the resolutions agreed upon at the previous meeting, with an exhortation to perseverance for reform. The link of unanimity being once severed, the fall of the armed associations, into difference and contention, was more rapid, than had been their progress to union. The divisions of the volunteers were encouraged by government; and for that purpose discord and turbulence were rather encouraged than checked in many counties, particularly upon the delicate and important expedient of admitting the Catholics to the elective franchise: a question which was artfully connected with the now declining cause of parliamentary reform. The desire of disuniting the volunteers begot inattention to the grievances of the peasantry in the south. Once more the *White Boys* committed depredations with impunity particularly about Kilkenny.\*

As the unanimity of the volunteers diminished, their spirit and exertions abated. On the 2nd of January, 1785, a second meeting of the delegates was held in Dublin, at which the representatives of 27 counties, most of the cities and considerable towns of the kingdoms were present, amounting to more than 200 persons. Their proceedings were less animated, and left the mode of redress to the parliament. The British senate sat till 25th August, 1784, and assembled again, January

\* A stop was put to their depredations by the pastoral letter of Right Rev. Dr. Troy, then Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, for which he received a letter of thanks from the Lord Lieutenant.

25th, 1785, when the king recommended the settlement of all differences with Ireland. The Irish legislature met about same time, and went through the usual formalities of a speech and thanks to the Lord Lieutenant, to which Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Sir Edward Crofton and other friends of reform objected on account of the words *firminess* and *moderation* which seemed to countenance the illegality of the attachments resorted to in lieu of trials by jury. His Majesty's answer to the addresses, which was communicated to the commons, on the 4th of Feb. 1785, spoke a very determined language against the attempts of the delegates to dictate to, and overawe the parliament, and increased the popular discontent.

The session of 1785, lasted seven months. Both parliaments were chiefly occupied in the commercial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland; previous to the meeting of parliament on 20th January, 1785, the British cabinet in concert with commissioners appointed on the part of Ireland, had formed the plan which Mr. Orde laid before the house of commons in the form of eleven propositions. After much debating and considerable opposition, they passed the commons, with an address to the throne, and on the 12th Feb., the resolutions and addresses were sent to the lords, and unanimously agreed to. On 22d same month, these eleven resolutions agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, were read in a committee in the British house of commons, when Mr. Pitt opened the business with much earnestness but a specious sympathy for the degraded state of Ireland. Lamenting, that from the Revolution almost to that day, the system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of Great Britain, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. It was at once harsh and unjust, and

it was as impolitic as it was oppressive. He reprobated the state of thralldom, in which that country had been systematically kept ever since the Revolution.

Commercial jealousies in England raised great opposition, and petitions were poured in from all quarters against the Irish propositions. Mr. Pitt deterred from his original design, brought on a new set of twenty propositions. The long and interesting debates were closed by a very moving speech of Lord Townshend whose long residence in Ireland supereminently qualified him to represent faithfully the state of that country. If he had expressed any degree of preference for Ireland, he begged their Lordships would impute it to the veneration he bore to it, and the obligations he owed for its partiality to his failings; he was naturally, he hoped, the advocate of the oppressed and meritorious; he knew the Irish to be generous and untemperising friends and who disdained to be behind hand in reciprocity. The propositions with some amendments were carried in the Lords by 84 against 30. After a warm debate, the amendments made by the lords, were agreed to in the commons. Mr. Pitt then brought in a bill founded on them, which was read, a first time, 3rd of August, and was followed up by an address to his Majesty, voted by both houses of parliament, wherein they acquainted him with what they had done, and that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge and decide thereupon.

On the 12th August, Mr. Secretary Orde brought in a bill, which was a transcript of that moved by the English minister. After a most animated debate which lasted 18 hours, the house divided, when there appeared for leave to bring in the bill 127, against it 108. Such a division in the first stage of the business, was equivalent to a defeat: and Mr. Orde having moved the first reading of the bill, declared he did not now intend to make any further progress in the business during that session. In order to preclude a motion of censure framed by Mr. Flood, the secretary moved an

adjournment, which was carried without a division. Public illuminations testified the joy excited by the sudden termination of this extraordinary business, which ended to the disappointment of the ministry in both kingdoms. It was never resumed in either parliament. Mr. Pitt's conduct in attempting to fetter the commerce of Ireland, in deference to or fear of the commercial interests of Great Britain, produced a renovation of that spirit which had produced formerly a non-importation resolution in Ireland. Some tumultuous efforts to carry it into effect were checked by the strong arm of government. Previous to the recess, Mr. Perry resigned the speaker's chair, to which Mr. Foster\* was chosen without opposition.

\* This situation he retained, till the Irish house of commons was annihilated by that very administration which he supported with indiscriminate tenacity, till the measure of the union was resolved on.

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## CHAPTER VII.

The Duke of Rutland in his speech to Parliament 1786, evinced a wish to revive commercial projects. Sir Edward Newenham, and other leading men of the County Dublin, manifest their intention to oppose the Rutland Administration. The Pension List warmly opposed by the Patriots. In their efforts for redress the opposition party prevailed by their majority. Mr. Grattan powerful against the Pension List. Party spirit ran high; the military kept in readiness to act. The Lord Lieutenant rudely received at the Theatre.—A new faction named Right-Boys, started up in Munster. False alarms by Government. See note on same subject.—The Viceroy specified to Parliament, the disorders which the Right-boys were producing. Fitzgibbon then Attorney-General. Tithe Proctors and Protestant Ministers obnoxious to the People. Hearth Money a grievance.—Fitzgibbon alluding to the grievances of the Peasantry, advocated their relief, and averred, that their distress had been caused by oppressive Landlords.—In Parliament the vast Expenditure of Government was opposed. In making a Road through the Phoenix Park £1,266 were expended.—A Bill was introduced, to demolish Catholic places of Worship in order to prevent the people from an opportunity of combining; whereas the bill embraced the subject to that purpose. The Tithes and Pension Lists were debated next; but like many Government Measures, they were sustained by their own party

with tenacity.—See note next page, as important to our countrymen. A Commercial Treaty with France introduced. National Education debated. Death of the Duke of Rutland; the Duke of Buckingham appointed by Pitt to rule Ireland; opposed by Sir Laurence Parsons.\* The conduct of Pitt and his Colleagues, preparatory to 'rob Ireland of her resident Parliament. Buckingham's acts in his commencement then most arbitrary.—Various frauds prevailed in all the departments of Government. The Treasury was peculated, and in the Ordnance Stores many things had been pilfered and carried off.—The County of Armagh greatly disturbed, in 1785 and 1788, by two factions, named Peep-o'-day Boys and Defenders.—In the Autumn months of 1789, His Majesty George III became delirious. A Regency Bill was introduced by Pitt and his adherents. The Irish Parliament understood from Pitt that they should act as the English were proceeding on the Regency question.—An Address was voted, in the Irish Houses, to be presented to the Prince of Wales, by the Duke of Leinster and Lord Charlemont. Half a million of money wasted in bribery; the annexed note worthy public attention. The King was becoming convalescent from his mental malady, and the Prince of Wales' reply to the noble deputation from Ireland.—Mr. Grattan strenuous in his efforts to correct and guard against the vicious delinquencies of the Government. A day was appointed for Public Thanksgiving to God for the King's recovery. The establishment of a Police Force for Dublin warmly debated.—Mr. Grattan on the Tithes throughout the provinces. The Parliament was adjourned and afterwards prorogued, May 25. The Marquis of Buckingham extremely unpopular. Every place under him was rendered venal for breaking down the opposing party. The Duke of Leinster, Mr. G. Ponsonby, Fitzherbert, and others removed from their situations to make way for men more manageable.—A grand gala observed in the Castle for the recovery of the King's health. None were invited who had voted an address to the Prince of Wales. The Attorney-General, Fitzgibbon, was made Chancellor, being the first Irishman appointed to that post. The Earl of Buckingham resigned Viceroyalty and returned to England, was chagrined by his unpopularity in Ireland. The Earl of Westmorland succeeds to the Lord Lieutenancy. He and his predecessor unlike only in name; the measures pursued by both were framed purposely to produce in the end the terrible explosion of '98

WHEN the Duke of Rutland met the Parliament in January 1786, he hinted in his speech a wish to revive the commercial propositions. The subject however was too unpopular to be proceeded upon. A Police bill was another favourite object of Government, strongly recommended to the attention of Parliament. It was vehemently opposed by the Patriots. Mr. Conolly took a leading part against it: he observed, that under

\* Sir Laurence Parsons, a staunch patriot at the period, subsequently concurred in the iniquitous measure of the Union.

the pretence of Police, it went to take away the constitution. It was treated by the opposition as a most unconstitutional job, a mere bill of patronage for ministerial purposes. Among many petitions against the bill, one was presented from the freeholders of the county of Dublin by Sir Edward Newenham, which the Attorney General moved to have rejected as an insult to the house. It was rejected by 118 against Sir Edward Newenham and Colonel Sharman.

Mr. Conolly and some other gentlemen of great landed property in the county who had been much in the habit of supporting government, now appeared to have taken a decided part in the opposition to the Duke of Rutland's administration. The grand attack made by the patriots this session, was upon the pension list—a question ever sure to be popular. Mr. Forbes after an animated speech, moved, that the present application and amount of pensions on the civil establishment, were a grievance to the nation, and demanded redress. The motion after an interesting debate, was lost by a majority of 134 against 78. Mr. Grattan gave great offence to the treasury bench, by causing the whole list to be read aloud by the clerk and closing the debate with these strong words "*If I should vote, that pensions are not a grievance, I should vote an impudent, an insolent, and a public lie.*" From the prorogation of parliament, the popularity of the Duke of Rutland, fell into the contrary spirit of discontent and asperity against him. The city of Dublin, during the recess, was a scene of tumult and complaint. In order to check the enforcing of the non-importation compact, sentinels were placed throughout the city to prevent or give notice of the first appearance of riot, and the garrison was kept in constant readiness for action. The Lord Lieutenant whose manners were naturally adapted to win the favour of the Irish, was received so rudely at the theatre as to have narrowly escaped the personal outrage of the populace.

When the Parliament met in 1728, 7th January, the

Lord Lieutenant applied to them for assistance, in the effectual vindication of the laws and protection of society, which could only be ensured by their special support of the established church, and the respectable situation of its ministers. This referred to the riots of a new set of disturbers in Munster, called *Right Boys* from their leader or instigator Captain Right. Mr. Conolly wished to make distinction between the chief governor, whom he knew to be an honest man, and the administration, against which he made the most serious charge.\* Adverting to the proclamations lately issued, stating, that the whole of the south was in arms, he asked, why did not government suppress these disorders in their infancy? if they were not exaggerated, government was censurable for not having prevented them; if they were so, they were more criminal for creating false alarms.

When the house was in a committee upon that part of His Excellency's speech, which related to the commotions in the south, the Attorney General (Fitzgibbon) submitted a curious narrative of facts, he said, had come to his knowledge, respecting the proceedings of the insurgents. They proceeded from parish to parish, swearing in the inhabitants. The first object of their reformation was tithes: they swore not to give more than a certain price per acre: not to take them from the minister at a greater price; not to assist or allow him to be assisted to draw the tithe, and to permit no proctor. They next took upon them to prevent the collection of Parish cess; then to nominate parish clerks, and in some cases curates; to say, what church should or should not be repaired; and in one case, they

\* No misconduct of Government is more fraught with malevolence and mischief, than that of creating false alarms, with a view of engrafting strong measures upon the timidity of the public. This appears to have been a favourite act throughout the whole system of Mr. Pitt's political career. The unprejudiced eye, may from this first essay under his administration, trace the gradual workings of the disasters, into which the latter part of it forced this ill-fated kingdom. The actual state of universal tumult and rising was asserted by ministerial members, and absolutely denied by others resident in the proclaimed counties. Differences of opinion between political opponents is conceivable; but contradiction of notorious facts amongst gentlemen, is unaccountable.

threatened to burn a new church, if the old one were not given for a mass-house. At last they proceeded to regulate the price of lands, to raise the price of labour, and to oppose the collection of hearth-money and other taxes. In all their proceedings they showed the greatest address, with a degree of caution and circumspection, which was the more alarming, as it demonstrated system and design.

Mr. Fitzgibbon said, he was well acquainted with Munster, and it was impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry in that province. He knew that the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords, their miseries were intolerable, but they did not originate with the clergy ; nor could the legislature stand by and see them take redress into their own hands. He therefore moved, that further provisions by statute are indispensably necessary to prevent tumultuous rising and assemblies, and for the more adequate and effectual punishment of outrage and riot, illegal combination, or of administering and taking unlawful oaths. He afterwards brought in a bill to that effect.

Several gentlemen of the opposition were loud in declaiming against the extravagance of government expenditures, such as allowance to printers of newspapers for inserting proclamations and advertisements, detrimental to the public and disgraceful to the nation ; of the sum of £1,266 for repairing the road through the Phoenix Park, through which carts were not permitted to pass ; for law-bills for prosecuting Right Boys ; for the expense of witnesses attending in London to give evidence concerning the Irish propositions : for building country houses for the officers of the crown, and other charges, scandalously brought against the public : they were all defended by the ministers, and of course none of them remedied. Mr. Conolly who had intended, in the course of that session to move an alteration in the tax of hearth money, declared, he would defer his motion till the people should demean themselves more peaceably.

Mr. Fitzgibbon's bill for preventing tumultuous risings contained the singular clause\* directing the magistrates to demolish the Roman Catholic Chapels, in which any combinations should have been formed or an unlawful oath administered. Mr. Orde the secretary remarked, that he never could have concurred in the clause for pulling down the chapels, and was happy that it had been abandoned by his friend. He lamented, that any thing should have appeared in print, purporting that those insurrections had arisen from a popish conspiracy: he declared, he not only did not believe it true; but in several places he knew it not to be true; and affirmed, that the insurgents had, in some places, deprived the Roman Catholic clergy of one half of their income.

Mr. Forbes brought in his bill for limiting pensions, which had, at all times, been a favourite object of the patriots; but every former effort to procure it, had, like the present, proved abortive. It was a government question and the bill was lost by a division of 129 against 65. Mr. Grattan equally anxious to check the lawlessness and relieve the distresses of the poor, brought forward the subject of tithes, in a general resolution, which was negatived without a division. It was urged, that to pay any regard to a people in a state of resistance, would be derogatory from the dig-

\* Of this clause Mr. Grattan said in debate, he had heard of transgressors being dragged from the sanctuary, but he never heard of the sanctuary being demolished. It went so far as to hold out the laws as a sanction to sacrilege. If the Roman Catholics were of a different religion, yet they had one common God, and one common Saviour with the honorable gentlemen; and surely the God of the Protestant temple, was the God of the Catholic temple. What then did the clause enact? That the magistrate should pull down the temple of his God, and should it be rebuilt, and as often as it was rebuilt for three years, he should again prostrate it, and so proceed, in repetition of his abominations, and thus stab the criminal through the sides of his God, a new idea indeed! But this was not all, the magistrate was to sell, by auction, the altar of the divinity, to pay for the sacrilege that had been committed on his house. By preventing the Chapel from being erected, he contended, that they must prohibit the exercise of religion for three years; and that to remedy disturbance, they resorted to irreligion, and endeavoured to establish it by an act of parliament.

nity of parliament. He laughed at such language ; there could never be a time, when it was improper for the legislature to do justice. The bill for the better execution of the laws and the better preservation of the peace within the counties at large, was strongly opposed by several of the patriots, as if intended to be followed up with a general police bill. It was particularly objected to, as deviating from the English riot act.\*

Two other subjects occupied the attention of parliament during the session of 1787 : the consideration of a commercial treaty with France, and a favourite plan of education, which Mr. Orde had been preparing for two years and submitted to the house. It was not supported according to his hopes. On 28th May the parliament was prorogued, accompanied with thanks for the supplies that had been voted. The Duke of Rutland died in October 1787 : he was succeeded by the Marquis of Buckingham, selected by Mr. Pitt to the government of Ireland. In January 1788, he met the parliament, and recommended, that the same measures which prevailed under the Duke of Rutland, might be still pursued. The address was opposed by Sir Laurence Parsons, who indignantly spurned at the mode of ruling Ireland as Buckingham had done ; the measures adopted and pursued by him, viz. the press persecuted, attachments issued, the police and riot act introduced, (by fomenting turbulence and discontent) the country would be goaded into rebellion.

\* The opposition urged the indecency of bringing on a matter of such importance in so thin a house, where most of those present were aids-de-camps, searchers, packers, gaugers, place-men, and pensioners. The bill would create thirty-two additional judges, annul six hundred magistrates, raise an army of three thousand soldiers, under the name of constables, and change the administration of the justice of the country. It had but two objects : to increase the patronage of the crown, and overawe the people.

On the progress of this bill, Mr. Fitzgibbon taunted the opposition with their silence, as if proceeding from inability and ignorance, which was highly resented by Mr. John O'Neill ; who warned the ministry to desist from that overbearing exultation with which they carried questions by rank majorities, and insolently attempted to run down country gentlemen from standing up in support of their oppressed countrymen. The Attorney General made a full apology.

A bill was introduced by the secretary to recover the loss of tithes, withheld for two years, 1786 and 1787 ; but to investigate the causes, in Munster, and the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, Mr. Grattan proposed that a committee might be appointed ; this proposal of Mr. Grattan was negatived : to stifle enquiry was a favourite maxim of Pitt and his colleagues, throughout the inauspicious career of him who robbed Ireland of a resident parliament, and reduced her from being a nation to the state of a province under English sway. The people felt bitterly the domineering spirit which ruled them.

The Marquis of Buckingham, in order to exonerate himself from his opponents in the house, had the parliament prorogued early, and commenced most arbitrarily to develop the abuses which pervaded every office and department in the Castle. He seized the keys, examined the papers and accounts, and demanded instant payment of outstanding balances. An universal panic sprung up amongst the defaulters ; some fled into the country, one cut his throat : others stood the brunt of inquiry, and strove to soften the rigours beginning to be pursued. Nothing could escape the scrutiny and mean measures to which his excellency descended. It appears, that profligacy and profusion prevailed in every department of government, both high and low. In the ordnance and treasury, intense frauds were discovered. The public stores had been pilfered and their contents partly carried away by the persons employed in them, and secretly given to friends and dependents.

In the course of 1788, the county of Armagh displayed a scene of great disturbance, caused by two factions denominated *peep-of-day boys, and defenders*. During 1785, their outrages commenced. The Protestants taking advantage of the laws unfavourable to Catholics, paid early visits to the latter to wrest from them their arms, at the same time carrying off plunder,

under pretext, that the laws permitted such practices of annoyance against Catholics. To defend themselves and their habitations against these aggressors, they united under the assumed name of defenders.

In the Autumn of 1789 the king of England, George III. became delirious, which malady incapacitated him to discharge the high duties of the executive : during the summer months this malady began and produced many serious debates in both houses of parliament, concerning a regency. At the head of these debates, was ranked the famous William Pitt of disastrous memory to Ireland. The regency bill was so clogged with limitations, that none of his Majesty's sons would interfere, and expressed themselves indignant at the system of the ministry, which they were about to establish under the regency bill.

It was the intention of the British minister that the two houses of the Irish parliament should follow the example of those of Great Britain. Many grounds of anxiety, mistrust and alarm agitated both parliaments on that delicate subject, the delirious state of his Majesty's health. The unpopularity of the Marquis of Buckingham was principally the cause of rousing the patriotic party to be opposed to the views of Pitt regarding the regency, which the Irish wished might centre in the Prince of Wales without restrictions and unfettered. A change of ministry, it was hoped, would soon arise, and enable the Irish to send such men into parliament as might become opposed to Pitt, and partial to their favourite the Prince of Wales, to possess without limitation power to govern the empire. An address was voted by a large majority to be presented to the Prince of Wales : the Duke of Leinster and Lord Charlemont were selected for that purpose, by the House of Lords, and Messrs. Conolly, O'Neil, Ponsonby and Stewart, by the Commons. The Marquis of Buckingham purposed to prorogue the parliament, to which Mr. Brownlow was strenuously opposed : he observed that in Townshend's administration, he knew

that between proroguing and an address, half a million of the people's money had been expended.\*

The committee of the two Houses of Parliament arrived in London on 25th of Feb., 1789, and the day following presented their address to the Prince of Wales, at Carlton House. As the convalescent state of his Majesty's health was at that time apparent, his Royal Highness, after returning his warmest thanks for the address, and expressing the satisfaction he received from the proof it afforded of their loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the king, acquainted them with the fortunate change that had taken place. Within a few days he hoped that the joyful event of his Majesty's resuming his government, would enable him to give them a final answer, and make it only necessary for him to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart.

The happy turn in his Majesty's health worked a stupendous change in the marshalling of the house of commons. As the late gloomy prospect of a change in the Irish administration, had driven many gentlemen

\* The singular coincidence of a falling and rising power, acting upon the body of 300 men, at no time famed for inflexibility, running a race of ingratitude for past, and avidity for future favors, extracted truths, which might otherwise have lain for centuries under the concordatum of interest, secrecy, and combination. Mr. Fitzgibbon—(no man knew better) admitted that Lord Townshend had paid or granted so much to purchase that majority in parliament, by which he governed to the end of his administration. Of this avowal, or boast, or taunt, or threat of parliamentary venality from the mouth of the Attorney General, we have the printed evidence of Mr. Grattan, (Answer to Lord Clare's Speech, 1800, p. 18,) "*Half a million or more was expended, some years ago, to break an opposition; the same or a greater sum may be necessary now* ; so said the principal servant of the crown. The house heard him : I heard him ; he said it, standing on his legs, to an astonished and an indignant nation ; and he said it in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on, the peerage was sold, the caittifs of corruption were everywhere ; in the lobby, in the street, on the steps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader, whose thresholds were worn by the members of the then administration, offering titles to some, amnesty to others, and corruption to all."

to the opposition benches, Mr. Grattan willing to avail himself of the earliest fruits of their conversion, successively brought forward all the subjects of popular complaint : namely, a new police bill, a pension bill, a place bill, a responsibility bill, and an absentee bill. Each was lost by gradually increased majorities. The first of these divisions was of 115 in favor of ministry and 106 against it. The debates upon these several questions were more personal and virulent than any\* before known in that house. On the 14th March, his excellency announced the happy event of his Majesty's recovery in a speech from the throne, which, Mr. Grattan congratulated the house, was so worded, and the address upon it so properly moved and seconded, as to call for the most cordial unanimity. When Mr. Conolly on the 20th March, communicated to the house of commons, the Prince of Wales's answer to the address of both houses of parliament, Lord Henry Fitzgerald moved an address of thanks to his Royal Highness for his gracious answer ; to which the Attorney General objected. No one supporting the objection, it was withdrawn and the motion was carried unanimously.

His Majesty returned a most gracious answer to the address of the Irish parliament, and his excellency appointed a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the signal interposition of his providence.

The ferment occasioned in the commons by the late alarm had nearly subsided : the re-establishment of the old system, and the disappearance of any immediate change in administration, had brought back most of the fugitives to their station, and upon a division on the place bill, there were only 93 for it, and 148 against it. Then Sir Henry Cavendish, chairman of the committee on the police accounts, delivered in their

\* The particulars of a violent attack upon Mr. Grattan by Mr. Parsons and Mr. Grattan's retort, may be seen in *Historical Review*, Vol. ii. p. 256.

report\* upon which they had come to two resolutions, 1st, That it appeared to them, that the police establishment had been attended with unnecessary patronage, waste and dissipation. 2nd. That it was their opinion, that the peace and protection of the city of Dublin, might be more effectually maintained at a less expense, and the present system of the police establishment ought to be changed. On the motion of the Attorney General, the report† was rejected by 132 against 78.

The subject most interesting for Ireland, during the remainder of the Session, was that of tithes. Mr. Grattan upon presenting a bill to appoint commissioners for the purpose of enquiring into the state of tithes in the different provinces, and to report a plan for ascertaining the same, followed it up with an eloquent display of oratory. The house adjourned from the 8th to the 25th of May: on which day the Lord Lieutenant prorogued the parliament, and made a speech of a general nature, without a word of reference to any of the extraordinary circumstances of the session. No viceroy ever enjoyed a smaller share of popularity in Ireland, than the Marquis of Buckingham. A determined opposition was the consequence. In spite of his boasted principles of economy, he resorted to the late ruinous system of purchasing votes by retail, in order to break through the formidable opposition to his measures.

No bounds, no reserve, no decency, were kept in this new canvass for parliamentary influence; the market was open, and the prices of boroughs, votes, titles, and peerages, were brought to a regular standard as bullion at the mint. Not a peerage, not an honor, not a place, not a pension was disposed of but immediately by government for parliamentary interest, influence, or engagements, varying by gradation from the price of a

\* 9 Parl. Deb. p. 394.

† 9 Parl. Deb. p. 424.

close borough to a vote on any simple question. Every place, office, or emolument that could be resumed by government, was granted upon new terms for future services. The Duke of Leinster, Mr. G. Ponsonby, Mr. Fitzherbert \* and every person holding place, office, or pension at pleasure, were displaced or deprived, for having joined in the address to the Prince of Wales.

A creation of eight peerages took place, and numerous new appointments were made. It was objected to the Marquis of Buckingham's administration, that notwithstanding his professions of economising, he had increased the pension list by £13,000, and by splitting places, reviving dormant employments and increasing salaries, had burdened the nation with an additional perpetuity of £28,000 per annum.

The public thanksgiving for the King's recovery was celebrated by a superb gala at the Castle ; but none of those gentlemen were invited, who had voted for the address : so strong was the spirit of party kept up, that in toasting healths, those of the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, were omitted. The extraordinary zeal of the attorney general Fitzgibbon on the late occasions, in support of Government, was rewarded with the great seal of Ireland, which had become vacant by the death of Lord Lifford. He was the first Irish Chancellor appointed by England.

The Marquis of Buckingham grew daily more and more dissatisfied with his situation in Ireland. He had regained a majority in parliament, but he never more experienced that popularity, which had hailed his first appointment under Lord Shelburne. The spirit of party ran so high, and the chief governor felt so sensibly his want of popularity, that in the month of June he took shipping for England, and never more returned to Ireland. On 30th of June 1789, the new Chancellor

\* During a short recess, the Hon. Mr. Hobart, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, was appointed secretary in lieu of Mr. Fitzherbert (afterwards Lord St. Helens) who gave a rare example of sacrificing place to principle.

Fitzgibbon and Mr. Foster the speaker were sworn in Lords Justices.

The Earl of Westmoreland succeeded the Marquis of Buckingham in the government of Ireland. It was observed by members of the opposition, that the rule of both was the same, the name only being changed. The administration of the Marquis of Buckingham formed an eventful era in the modern history of Ireland. From thence is evidently traced the commencement of those popular workings which ended in the explosion of 1798. Facts bespeak their own consequences ; among the poor in Munster, after Mr. Grattan's motion for their relief had failed, fresh disturbances broke out, and the military force was increased. In the North, the peep-of-day boys gained an ascendancy over the Defenders. Their enmity was wickedly fomented by the upper orders, for the purpose of breaking up that union of Protestants and Catholics, which had been effected by their serving together in the Volunteer corps.

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#### CHAPTER VIII.

Atrocities in the county Armagh. Ministers threatened to be impeached. The people displeased and irritated. John Philpot Curran. The English Ministry ; their puny faith. Dissolution of Parliament : reassembled, they sat but fourteen days during nine months, 1790. Lord Westmoreland Viceroy. The Government arraigned for their venality : Mr. G. Ponsonby their accuser. The Catholics petition for a removal of the Penal Code. Dissensions among the people, excited by Government. Pitt and his measures. United Irishmen. The *Northern Star*. James Napper Tandy. The Volunteers : Lord Charlemont. The County Armagh : coalition of the Dissenters and Catholics dreaded by Government. Anniversary of the French Revolution celebrated in Belfast. The writings of Burke and Payne. The Penal Code. Henry Grattan. Half a million expended in Bribery. The privilege of becoming Lawyers denied to Catholics. Henry Grattan opposed to the Dublin Corporation, regarding the emancipation of the Catholics. The petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

IN Armagh, the most Protestant county of Ireland, the defenders were goaded into a more systematic resistance by the increasing frequency and atrocity of

the domiciliary visits for disarming them, under pretext of the laws disabling Catholics to bear arms, which the defenders found necessary for self defence. Government sent down some troops of horse, which secured a temporary peace, while they remained. The defenders became more organised for self protection, but were not known to be, at any time, the aggressors.

Lord Westmoreland met the parliament, 21st January, 1790. The whole of this session was a series of violent struggles by the patriotic members for the great points of the constitution which had been withheld by majorities of the venal and the bribed, which as the basest of all principles, Virgil paints thus—"vendidit hic auro patriam," i.e. he sold his country for gold. Mr. Grattan was remarkable for the warfare he maintained throughout that year, in opposition to bribery and corruption.

At the close of a very severe debate, Mr. Grattan gave particular offence to Government by a novel mode of arraigning the ministers. He then read the following paper :—"We charge them publicly, in the face of their country, with making corrupt agreements, for the sale of peerages, for doing which, we say, they are impeachable ; we charge them with corrupt agreements for the disposal of the money arising from the sale, to purchase for the servants of the castle seats in the assembly of the people ; for doing which we say they are impeachable ; we charge them with committing these offences, not in one, nor in two, but in many instances ; for which complication of offences, we say they are impeachable ; guilty of a systematic endeavour to undermine the constitution in violation of the laws of the land. We pledge ourselves to convict them. We dare them to go into an enquiry. We do not affect to treat them as other than *public malefactors*. We speak to them in a style of the most mortifying and humiliating *defiance*. We pronounce them to be public *criminals*. Will they dare to deny the *charge* ? I call upon and dare the ostensible member to rise in

his place, and say, on his honor, that he does not believe such corrupt agreements *have taken place*. I wait for a *specific answer*." After some pause Mr. Secretary Hobart\* replied, that the question related to the exercise of his Majesty's undoubted prerogative, and it would ill become him, upon the investigation of an individual, to say what were the reasons which had induced his Majesty to bestow upon any person those honors which the crown alone could constitutionally confer.

1790. The strongest opposition of the session was upon Mr. Forbes's moving the place bill to be read a second time, when he asserted confidently that no less than 104 persons holding places or pensions were members of that house, and that since the last session no less than fourteen new places had been created. Mr. Curran (usually called John Philpot Curran) introduced an address to the consideration of the house, specifying, that his Majesty's faithful commons had been informed, that in order to defeat an opposition to the will of the minister, great portions of the public money had been expended by government in places, pensions or salaries to individuals to betray the community for such corrupt considerations : and that these iniquitous attempts to deceive the people had not been concealed. As had been anticipated, this address of the illustrious Curran fell under the stroke of a venal majority, aided by that ministerial influence and corruption, which had been the system of rule pursued by English tyranny, commencing with Henry II. A. D. 1166, to A. D. 1855, a sorrowful, melancholy, and woful period of six hundred and eighty-nine years. This last effort of Curran and his colleagues was principally intended as a lasting record, on the journals of the house of commons, of Irish sufferings and English perfidy.

\* Afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire. This his reply gave little satisfaction to the opposition benches, and still less to the people out of doors.

The parliament was prorogued on the 5th, and dissolved on the 8th of April 1790. The new parliament was summoned to meet on 20th of May, but before that time, was further prorogued to the 10th of July, when it met for the dispatch of business. The session lasted only fourteen days, during which, the only business done, was to obtain a vote of credit for £200,000. The parliament was then prorogued to the 20th Jan. 1791.

During the recess, Mr. Secretary Hobart went to England to concert measures for the next parliamentary campaign with the British cabinet. It was determined, that the Irish should pursue the same career as in Buckingham's administration. In the mean time, Lord Westmoreland endeavoured to acquire popularity by visiting the Irish nobility, and to elicit the credulity of the Irish people, he and his Lady appeared, on most occasions, clad with Irish manufacture.\*

The business of the first session of the new parliament differed little from the last. The patriotic band although becoming thin and fewer, were actuated to make a more determined stand. "Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito." Virg. i.e. Yield not to misfortune, but proceed to oppose it more firmly. Mr. George Ponsonby in replying to Mr. Cook,† assured him, that nothing but the hand of death, or success, should ever induce the *patriotic few* to relinquish their pursuits. The minority complained, that the administration did not meet the questions of difference between them by reason and argument, but by that very corruption and influence they were waring against, *dead majorities*. The great strength of the patriot's oratory was employed upon the charge of selling the peerage, and prostituting the price of it, to the purchase of seats in parliament.

\* In the theatre, the *Beggar's Opera* made its appearance, which had been interdicted, under the late Viceroy Lord Buckingham.

† The name of Cook will make a conspicuous subject when we will arrive at the disastrous period of 1798.

The political fever of the continent became alarming to Britain, and to Ireland. This country which had struggled to obtain liberty for themselves, began to feel a deep interestedness for the fate of France and Poland. Such was the panic in the cabinet of Great Britain, that both there and in their administration here, democracy and the name democrat were affixed to every man standing up for Ireland and her sufferings.

On the 11th February, 1791, a meeting was convened in Dublin of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland, at which various resolutions from different parts of the kingdom were read. They came to the unanimous determination of applying for relief from the Penal Code still impending as a mark of their degradation and sufferings. It was now evidently impossible that the spirit of freedom universally diffused by the Volunteer system, would continue long dormant and inactive ; some Protestant gentlemen \* zealously endeavoured to infuse into every rank of society and religion, the principle to combat the inflexible and unbending government of British rule, and to force them to hearken to the all-absorbing cry of unshackled liberty among all ranks of Irishmen. Nothing was more manifestly intolerable to the Government party than any approach towards concord † between the Catholics and the Dissenters. This demand of the people was insidiously met by Mr. Pitt, with arms of hostile invention : to Pandora's box this plan of Pitt could be with truth assimilated : evil of all sorts was scattered widely and religious discord crowned and matured his purpose of effecting the destructive measure of Union between both countries.

In the month of June, 1791, a paper was circulated in Dublin, containing the design of an association to be

\* The Hon. Simon Butler, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Todd Jones, were the untiring friends for universal freedom.

† "Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet." Hor. Epist. "Et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires." *i.e.* It behoves you to be alarmed when your neighbour's house is on fire, and fire if neglected, becomes more impetuous.

called the Society of United Irishmen, at Belfast ; their plan was published, the October following, in the Northern Star. In the same month, the Roman Catholics published their claims and tenets, in order to remove prejudices, and spirit up the exertions of their friends to espouse and advocate their cause. In November a similar society of United Irishmen was formed in Dublin : their declaration was the same as that of Belfast : but a test was annexed to it. To this society Mr. James Napper Tandy was secretary, and Mr. Simon Butler Chairman. It was now the fixed, perhaps improvident system of the castle to involve all societies, clubs, and associations, in one common anathema of faction and sedition.

Every attention to popular characters was an offence of no mean standard at the castle. When Charlemont sailed for England, the Club called Whig and all the Volunteers in Dublin attended him, under arms, to the water-side, and paid him the like honors on his return. In the course of the summer, this Nobleman found himself under the necessity of resigning the government of the county Armagh, a confidential honor which his ancestors had enjoyed since the reign of Elizabeth. He considered the joint appointment of another Nobleman in that government as an offence and insult. His Lordship's predilections for the Dissenters were particularly obnoxious to government, for the efforts of the Northern Dissenters in the cause of liberty were infinitely more dreaded by government, than the claims of Catholics for emancipation. The anniversary commemoration of the French Revolution was celebrated on the 14th of July, by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Belfast. All the armed corps of Volunteers attended. The public acts of the Protestants in the North gave great offence to government, and Messrs. Tone, Butler, and Jones were the avowed friends and advocates of the Catholic committee. Some of the Catholic gentlemen of landed property, who disapproved of these societies, seceded formally from the

Catholic committee ; and on the 27th of December, 1791, presented to the Lord Lieutenant a petition or address, which went no farther than a general expression of submissiveness and respect to government, throwing themselves and their body upon their humanity and wisdom. Three days after the United Irishmen of Dublin published a circular letter, containing a declaration of their political sentiments and their test, and animadverting severely on the 64 addressers.

The year 1792 opened scenes peculiarly important to Ireland. The whole Catholic body, on different grounds, was worked up to a lively expectation of relief. The Catholics superadded to the equitable grounds of their claims, the submissiveness and respect of their application, and their confidence in the humanity and generosity of Ministers. The petitioners relied more on the force of truth and equity, than on the liberality or justice of government. The late political changes on the public mind, had been mainly produced by the writings of Messrs. Burke and Payne ;\* between these two extremes, no middle post was tenable. In order therefore to purge themselves of that levelling democracy which was so obnoxious to government, the Catholic committee chose for their counsel and agent the son of Mr. Burke, conceiving, that he would give no advice, concur in no measure, abet no step, without the privity, direction, and approbation of his father. It was a reasonable and fair conclusion, that what would not be supported by Mr. Burke, could not be construed to savour of French principles. The great object of political attention of 1792, was founded on the constitutional rights due to Catholics. It was impossible, that any country could continue to exist under a code of laws, by which a majority of its inhabitants was cut off from the rights of property. The Catholics anxious to be relieved from the hardships they had so long

\* The former condemning the French Revolution, the latter applauding it to the skies.

laboured under, could not be insensible to the sympathy and liberality of any among their Protestant countrymen. They did not weigh nor balance the differences between the tenets of the established church and dissenters, to their own : nor did they open old accounts to discover, whether the asperity of the Puritans had been softened by the assumption of Protestant ascendancy. Whosoever, upon the broad basis of constitutional freedom, avowed the principle of their emancipation, was naturally received with cordiality. The exertions of the Catholic body in general, was confined to the removal of the *Penal Code*.

On the 19th of January, the parliament was opened in the usual manner ; Mr Grattan objected to that part of the address thanking his Majesty for continuing a Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, whose measures he himself had found it necessary to resist, and who had opposed every intention to benefit Ireland. Ten years had elapsed since they had recovered their constitution, and three since they had lost it. The people of Ireland would not consent to be governed by the British parliament. In 1789, the parliament was so modelled, that half a million was expended to buy the house of Commons : peerages were sold, seats in the commons were purchased : a stock-purse was formed by the Minister, to monopolize boroughs, and buy up representations. The Minister of the crown became the common borough-broker of the kingdom, which constituted an offence so multifarious and in all its parts so criminal, that exemplary punishment was loudly demanded and required.

Whether the persons concerned in such iniquitous measures were Lord Buckingham or his secretary, or those who had been *promoted*, the conspiracy had taken effect against the fundamental laws of the land, and had established, in place of a limited monarchy, a corrupt despotism. On the 25th January, 1792, Sir H. Langrishe rose according to notice, to bring forward some resolutions in favor of the Catholics. He pre-

facéd his motion by a warm and able speech : he enumerated all the concessions made to them by the legislature : there was not a class of his Majesty's subjects more attached than they were to the monarchy and hereditary succession, more obedient to the laws, &c. It was under such conviction that he addressed them for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics.

1st. He would give them the practice and profession of the law, as a reasonable provision and application of their talents to their own country.

2ndly. He would restore to them education entire and unrestrained, because a state of ignorance was a state of barbarism. That would be accomplished by taking off the necessity for a license, as enjoined by the act of 1782.

3rdly. He would draw closer the bonds of intercourse and affection, by allowing intermarriage, repealing that cruel statute, which served to betray female credulity, and bastardize the children of a virtuous mother.

4thly. He would remove those obstructions to arts and manufactures, which limited the number of apprentices which were so necessary to promote and advance trade. He then moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to remove certain restraints and inabilities, under which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects labour from statutes at present in force. Mr. Hobart seconded the motion without making any observations. Leave was given to bring in the Bill, and a Committee appointed to prepare the same, without a dissenting voice.

No sooner had this leave been given, than Mr. O'Hara, after having expressed his hearty concurrence in what had been done, suggested, that in order to have the subject fully before the House, it was desirable, that they should know exactly the particulars in which the Roman Catholics desired relief, and they might easily draw the line by the new Act of Parliament so strongly as to preclude any expectation of change at least for many years to come.

Those considerations, he said, had induced him to listen to the desire of a very particular friend of his, to lay such a statement before the house. A friend who was not of the Roman Catholic persuasion, but one to whom he would not willingly refuse any thing he could ask, had desired him as a personal friend, to present it. Though he did not know the petitioners, he knew the integrity of his friend, who told him, they were worth altogether, upwards of a million, which he mentioned to show, that they were considerable individuals, whose sentiments might be supposed to coincide with the greater part at least of the Roman Catholics. However, though he presented the petition, he requested not to be considered as its particular patron: for he had agreed to present it upon the terms only of reserving to himself the full liberty of discussing every part of it; and condemning or approving as he might think proper. Under these circumstances, he ventured to offer the petition to the house; and the rather because to petition parliament was a matter of right to the subject, and a member could hardly refuse to present a petition if required, by no improper description of men; but more particularly, because the petition brought information before the house which might be useful in framing the bill. The petitioners after stating the particulars, in which they hoped for relief, promised to acquiesce in whatever relief parliament might think proper to give them.\* The Solicitor General said, the petition in its present state of individual advocacy, could be no object of notice: he therefore moved the question of adjournment. Mr. D. Brown was for receiving the petition. However Mr. O'Hara withdrew it for the present, because he could

\* Whilst Mr. Sheridan was observing, that it was a very odd way of introducing a petition, to state that it came not from any particular body of men, but from an intimate acquaintance, Mr. Burke the gentleman alluded to by Mr. O'Hara, having incautiously ventured into the body of the house behind the speaker's chair, to speak with Mr. O'Hara, there arose a general cry of "into custody"! He instantly withdrew.

not say he had seen the petitioners sign it : he should present it another day.\*

The Catholic committee anxious to act in full concert with Sir Hercules Langrishe, as he was well known to do nothing without the privity and approbation of government, entered into some unanimous resolutions calculated to counteract the effects of the misrepresentations and calumnies of their enemies. On the same day Sir Hercules Langrishe introduced his bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics : it was read and ordered to be printed. Four days after Mr. John O'Neill presented a petition from Belfast, signed by more than 600 persons of respectability, praying that the legislature would repeal all penal and restrictive laws against Catholics, and put them on the same footing with their Protestant fellow subjects. On the 11th of February, before the Catholic bill committed for that day, was called on, Mr. Stewart, seconded by Mr. George Ponsonby, made a motion, beseeching his Majesty to take into his consideration, the situation of the presbyterian ministers of the province of Ulster, and to make some further provision for them, as in his wisdom and bounty he should think fit, and that the house would make good the same. Sir Edward Newenham and others bore testimony to the loyalty and virtues of the Protestant dissenters. As parliament was about granting favours to the Roman Catholics, they could not refuse justice to the Presbyterians.

The great body of the Roman Catholics were little satisfied with the concessions contained in the bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe. They were convinced, that this bill had been substituted for another of more extensive concession, which had been intended, and would have been obtained, but for the arts of some

\* Mr. Grattan feeling, that this treatment of a petition signed by so considerable a portion of the community, was rather insulting, closed a very impressive speech, in the following words ; " what you give to the Roman Catholics, give it liberally ; what you refuse, refuse decently ; whatever you do, do it with discretion : whatever you say, let it be the language of decency and good manners."

designing and the credulity of some honest men. Whilst the bill was in progress, the Catholic committee prepared a petition calculated to meet the objections raised against their proceedings. It was signed by fifty of the most respectable Catholic commercial characters in Dublin on behalf of themselves and their brethren throughout the kingdom.\* It was presented by Mr. Egan, and was ordered to lie on the table. When the Catholic bill was debated, all cautiously confined their ideas of indulgence to the points of the bill: and many took that opportunity of pledging themselves never to grant the elective franchise as a concession incompatible with the Protestant ascendancy.

Mr. Grattan, though instructed to oppose the bill by his constituents (The Dublin Corporation) would not sacrifice the rights and interests of three millions to the caprice or prejudice of some individuals. The house resolved itself into a committee on the bill, after midnight, and Mr. Secretary Hobart not wishing to precipitate matters, suggested, that the chairman should

\* "To the Right Hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the undersigned Roman Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

"Humbly sheweth,

"That as the house has thought it expedient to direct their attention to the situation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to a further relaxation of the penal statutes still subsisting against them, they beg leave, with all humility, to come before the house with the most heartfelt assurance of the wisdom and justice of parliament, which is at all times desirous most graciously to attend to the petitions of the people; they therefore humbly presume to submit to the house, their intreaty, that they should take into their consideration, whether the removal of some of the civil incapacities under which they labour, and the restoration of the petitioners to some share in the elective franchise which they enjoyed long after the Revolution, will not tend to strengthen the Protestant state, add new vigour to industry, and afford protection and happiness to the Catholics of Ireland. That the petitioners refer with confidence to their conduct for a century past, to prove their uniform loyalty and submission to the laws, and to corroborate their solemn declaration, that if they obtain from the justice and benignity of parliament, such relaxation from certain incapacities, and a participation in that franchise, which will raise them to the rank of freemen, their gratitude must be proportioned to the benefit, and that enjoying some share in the happy constitution of Ireland, they will exert themselves, with additional zeal, in its safety and preservation."

report progress, and leave was given to sit again on the 20th of February. On that day Mr. David La Touche moved, that the petition of the Catholic committee should be rejected, and after a violent debate it was rejected by 208 against 23. The petition from Belfast was rejected by a larger majority.

Such of the Protestants as wished the Irish to become a people, and to enjoy the freedom of the British constitution, scouted the cry of *Protestant ascendancy*, adopting the axiom of Mr. Grattan, *that the Irish Protestant would never be free until the Irish Catholic should cease to be a slave.*

The Catholic Committee now felt the happy effects of securing through their agent, the countenance and support of Mr. Burke, whose influence upon the British cabinet kept pace with his opposition to the French Revolution. Previous to any further application to the legislature, the committee resolved to give to their country the utmost satisfaction upon all topics of their faith, connected however remotely, with the principles of good order and government. For this purpose they published a declaration of their tenets, which was signed generally by all the Catholics of every class through the kingdom, clergy and laity. It received the warm approbation of their supporters, and caused many of their opponents to be silent. Having thus endeavoured to clear the way by the removal of prejudices, they felt it incumbent upon them, in order to induce the two houses of parliament to afford relief to four millions of loyal and peaceable subjects, to satisfy them of the unequivocal sense of all the Catholics of Ireland, which could only be fairly collected and fully expressed by delegation; the committee therefore devised and circulated a plan to ascertain the sentiments of their entire body throughout the kingdom.

Immediately on the appearance of this plan, an outcry was raised against it. Sedition, tumult, conspiracy and treason were echoed from county to county, from grand jury to grand jury. Some legislators high in the

confidence of their sovereign, and armed with the influence of station and office, presided at those meetings and were indecently forward in arraigning measures, upon the merits of which, in another place, and in another function, they were finally to determine. The exaggerated and alarming language of most of the grand juries imported, that the Catholics of Ireland were on the eve of a general insurrection, ready to hurl the King from his throne, and tear the whole frame of the constitution to pieces. They vied with each other, which should most acrimoniously reprobate the inflammatory and dangerous publication. Some of the grand juries indignantly rejected the proposals made to them of resolutions injurious to their Catholic brethren. Bold and severe publications appeared during the course of the summer, not only from individuals of the Catholic body, but from the friends of their cause, amongst the Protestants.

In order to bring into view all the penalties and disabilities to which the Catholics still remained subject, after the puny relief of the pompous bill of Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Simon Butler published, by order of the Society of United Irishmen at Belfast, a digest of the popery-laws. A formal vindication of the conduct and principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the charges made against them by certain late grand juries, and other interested bodies in that country, was published by order of the committee.\*

\* In this work they sum up a recapitulation of the grievances by which they were still affected, and then conclude, "such is the situation of three millions of good and faithful subjects in their native land. Excluded from every trust, power, or emolument of the state, civil or military; excluded from all the benefits of the constitution in all its parts; excluded from all corporate rights and immunities; expelled from grand juries; restrained in petit juries; excluded from every direction, from every trust, from every incorporated society, from every establishment, occasional or fixed, instituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience; from the Bench, from the Bank, from the Exchange, from the University, from the College of Physicians, &c. Such is the state, which the Corporation of Dublin, have thought proper to assert, *differs in no respect from that of the Protestants, save only in the exercise of political power*; and the host of grand juries consider *as essential to the existence of the constitution, to the permanency of the connection with England, and the continuation of the throne in his Majesty's royal house.*"

The Catholic committee became obnoxious to government in proportion to the sympathy and connection which, it was supposed, existed between them and the Society of United Irishmen and other political clubs recently instituted for promoting civil freedom. It was natural enough for persons staggering under oppression cordially to grasp every hand that held out relief.

After the severe summer campaign, in which the Catholics had to encounter so much obloquy from grand juries and other meetings of Protestants, which were generally considered to have been packed and stimulated to their resolutions by the Chancellor, the speaker of the house of Commons, and other monopolisers of the power of the state, the Catholics found it necessary to remove fresh imputations against their civil conduct in applying for redress of grievances. They therefore procured and circulated the opinions of Mr. Simon Butler and Mr. Burston, both King's Counsel, upon the legality of the circular letter signed Edward Byrne, and their other proceedings. Upon the strength of these opinions the Catholics proceeded to choose delegates for each district throughout the kingdom : the appointments were soon completed without disturbance : the first meeting of the delegates was in Tailors'-hall, Back-lane, Dublin, on the 2nd of December, 1792.

The forming and embodying a national guard created alarm to the government : this body of men wore green uniforms ; the buttons were wrought with a harp and cap of liberty : they addressed each other by the name of citizen, in imitation of the French : they were in high favor with the populace who always greeted them when marching or on parade. The apprehensions of government were so serious, that the military used to patrol in the night to obviate any attempt at insurrection. Defenderism was spread widely in the counties of Armagh, Louth, and Meath ; great excesses were committed by the *peep-of-day boys*, particularly in Armagh County, and in Cavan. The Earl of Bellamont at length interfered in the county of Cavan, and acted so

strenuously, that the lawless banditti of *peep-of-day boys* were forced to discontinue their excesses.

In the summer of 1792, the Roman Catholics of Ireland had now determined to act in concert, and prepared a petition to be presented to the King in person : it was signed by Bishops Troy and Moylan on behalf of themselves, the other Roman Catholic Prelates, the Clergy, and Catholic people of Ireland : a delegation was then appointed : the delegates chosen to present it to his Majesty, were Sir Thomas French, Messrs. Byrne, Keogh, Devereux, and Bellew. On passing through Belfast, which they made their route to London, they were most respectably waited upon, and when embarking, their carriage was drawn by the multitude to the water side. On January 2nd, 1793, this band of petitioners was presented to the King by Mr. Dundas ; they were benignly received by his Majesty, and quickly returned to Dublin, where they were heartily welcomed as faithful heralds of their suffering countrymen.

Since Ireland had gained a constitution, no year was so pregnant with great events for that country as 1793. The parliament met on the 10th of January, and the Lord Lieutenant, after allusion to the troubles which had arisen in various parts of the country, and having touched upon the aspect of affairs with France, where an awful revolution had burst forth, recommended, from his Majesty's instructions, that his Catholic subjects merited their peculiar regard and solicitude. Mr. John O'Neil in supporting the address, dwelt emphatically on the good faith and loyalty of the Roman Catholic people of Ireland : Mr. Grattan nobly advocated their cause, as the subjoined note makes manifest. \*

\* The persons who opposed our liberty in 1782, were made our ministers. Afterwards the country forgave them, but they never forgave the country. They attempted to put down the constitution ; but now they have put down the government : we told them so, we admonished them, we told them their driving would not do ; don't they remember how in 1790 we warned them. They said, we were severe. I am sure we were prophetic. In 1791 we repeated our admonition : told them, that a government of clerks would not do : that the government of the treasury would not do ; that Ireland would not be long governed by the

The peculiarity of this session was the accession of government to many of the great questions which they had before most pertinaciously resisted. Mr. Grattan so far succeeded upon the subject of reform,\* as to have procured a committee to enquire whether any, and what abuses had taken place in the state of the representation. This was considered, by the gentlemen of the opposition, a matter of triumph: it was an admission of the principle: it created confidence within, and afforded joy and satisfaction to the people without.

On 15th January, 1793, Mr. Secretary Hobart announced his intention of taking into consideration, that part of the Lord Lieutenant's speech relating to the Catholics. He also intimated his intention of easing the poor of the hearth tax. Upon Mr. Grattan expressing his intention to bring forward a bill for libel, like that of Great Britain; also to bring in a bill for the improvement of barren land; no opposition was given to any of these proposed measures.

On the 4th February, Mr. Secretary Hobart announced his intention to bring before the house a petition from the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland for themselves and all of the same persuasion: the sentiments of those who, a year before, had expressed opposition, were (he said) now changed: the opinion of the country was not then ripe for such a measure. He then went through the several objects of the intended bill, reasoning upon each. He assured the house of his Majesty's paternal anxiety to meet the wishes of his Irish people.

trade of parliament. We mentioned this, when Lord Buckingham ran away, and Lord Westmoreland succeeded to his office. We told them, that a nation which had rescued her liberties from the giant of Old England, would not long bear to be trodden on by the violence of a few pigmies, whom the caprice of a court had appointed ministers.

\* "We admire the wisdom which at so critical a season, has prompted your Majesty to come forward to take a leading part in healing the animosities of your people, on account of religion: we shall take into our immediate consideration the subject graciously recommended from the throne; and at a time when doctrines pernicious to freedom and dangerous to monarchical government, are propagated in foreign countries, we shall not fail to impress your Majesty's Catholic subjects with a sense of the singular and eternal obligation they owe to the throne, and to your Majesty's royal person and family."

In this spirit had government come to the resolution of easing the lower classes by repealing the hearth tax ; he then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of those professing the Roman Catholic religion. The motion was seconded by Sir Hercules Langrishe ; and most vehemently opposed by Dr. Duigenan, who in a long speech collected together whatever the acrimonious bitterness of the two preceding centuries had accumulated against the Catholics, and retailed it with enthusiastic bitterness : he and Mr. Ogle were the only two upon the division, who opposed the bringing in of the bill. Lord Hillsborough obtained leave to bring in a bill to establish a militia the same as in England. The whole number he proposed to be 16,000, upon a rough estimate of 500 for each county. Mr. Grattan never lost an opportunity of bringing the subject of reform before parliament.

February 5th, 1793, Mr. Hobart informed the house, that he was directed by his Excellency to deliver to them a message, importing, that the persons exercising the powers of government in France had, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his Majesty's subjects, and calling upon their co-operation in the cause. After Mr. Secretary had delivered this message and the house had addressed the Lord Lieutenant for his gracious communication, Mr. Hobart presented the catholic bill, which passed without a division. On 22nd February it was read a second time and produced a warm debate. The question was carried in the affirmative, one negative only opposing. The bill was committed for the Monday following, when three negatives appeared. Of supporters of Catholic emancipation, Mr. Grattan\* was the most consistent, zealous and perse-

\* Mr. Grattan not only persuaded by his eloquence, but instructed by his historical information. He illustrated the subject by his statement of the Irish Brigade in the service of France, the number of the northern dissenters fighting against England in America, and the services of real Irishmen in the army and navy of Great Britain, even in breach of the law. He emphatically observed, that if they wished never to meet Irishmen in arms in other countries, they ought to give them a better condition at home.

vering. His sentiments swayed many opinions in the nation : they also created discontent and opposition among another part of the community. He wished the bill under their consideration had gone further.

He could wish, that it had given the Roman Catholics the privileges of other dissenters : sure he was, that was the only sound policy. He thought, however, the bill deserved thanks, because it contained much, and because it led to much more ; but the mover would display more sense, if he had then given to the Catholics the whole, and had settled with them for ever. When the bill was in the committee, Mr. George Knox moved, that the committee might be empowered to receive a clause to admit Catholics to sit and vote in the house of commons. Major Doyle seconded the motion, which was strongly supported by Mr. Daly, Colonel Hutchinson, Mr. M. Smyth, Mr. John O'Neil, Mr. Hardy, and other gentlemen liberally disposed to their Catholic countrymen ; it was however rejected by a majority of 94.

When the Catholic bill had passed its second reading in the Lords, the bishop of Killala (Dr. Law) expressed his ready and most cheerful assent to a bill for the relief of his long oppressed and loyal Catholic brethren. It was no part of Protestantism to persecute Catholics : and without justice to the Catholics, there could be no security for the Protestant establishment, to the prosperity of the country, and the justice due to his Catholic brethren ; he could cheerfully vote for its committal.

The Archbishop of Cashel and the Chancellor evinced strenuous opposition in the house of Lords. Lord Portarlington avowed, that further concessions to the Catholics would lead to a separation from England, or to an union with her, either of which should be equally dreaded. Upon the clause enabling Catholics to be eligible to military rank, Lord Farnham argued, that a similar law should be first established in England, in order that if any exigency would arise, they might serve in any part of the empire. The Chancellor op-

posed it. Lord Bellamont gave his support to the amendment, hoping that it would tend to accelerate the law of England for the admission of Roman Catholics into the army without restraint. That part of the bill which embraced the admission of Roman Catholic officers into the military service, passed, after many debates among the Lords. Two bills, one called the *Gunpowder*, the other the *Convention*, intending thereby to disarm the Volunteers, and prevent a national Convention that was about to assemble at Athlone, were made a law. This session of 1793, ended the 16th August. Great difficulty was manifest in raising the Militia regiments, in consequence of any appointments of Roman Catholic officers to their ranks being wholly omitted by Government, the old leaven against their religion still operating among the high members of the ruling party.

The legislative concessions made to the Catholics of Ireland, in accordance with the Royal recommendation, were strongly counteracted by the distinctions kept up by corporations and Protestant ascendancy. The growth and progress of defenderism were most unwarrantably charged on the entire body of Catholics. The murder of the Rev. Mr. Butler, a respectable magistrate, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Meath, and a rising in the neighbourhood of Athboy, which was dispersed in the course of the day, were attempted to be fixed upon them. A Mr. Fay and other Catholics were falsely arraigned and brought to trial for that murder and the insurrectionary movement of defenderism near Athboy, county Meath: the false testimony of an informer named Lynch, fell to the ground, and they were acquitted. To counteract the attempts of calumny and efforts to ascribe to the Catholic body the principles of defenderism, the Roman Catholic Bishops presented an address to the Lord Lieutenant to be transmitted by him to his Majesty, expressive of their loyalty and obedience to the laws.

An application for permission to found seminaries and a college to educate priests for Ireland, was likewise

made in March, 1794.\* The confident determination of some societies to act in their demands with vigour, influenced the government to adopt severe measures against the people. An information was filed against Archibald Hamilton Rowan Esq., for distributing a seditious libel. This consisted of an address to the Volunteers of Ireland, and after a trial of ten hours, was found guilty. The sentence pronounced upon Mr. Rowan,† was severe in the extreme: a fine of £500, imprisonment for two years, and after that, £2000 surety from himself, besides two persons to be security in the sum of £1000 each, to be all three responsible for his good conduct and behaviour during seven years. The verdict and judgment gave and excited great displeasure and dissatisfaction to the popular party.

The parliament was convened on January 21st, 1794, and was prorogued on 25th March following: a bill for reform introduced by Mr. George Ponsonby was lost by a majority of 98 voices, being the only one proposed during that short session.

Mr Grattan and some other members of the opposition gave great umbrage, during the short interval of the session, to the United Irishmen for their having reprobated unsparingly, the system of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. Ten days after the debate, they published an address in which Mr. Grattan and *the others* were severely censured: deep discontent and turbulence were spreading rapidly throughout the kingdom. Defenderism and the Right Boys were becoming strong and gaining proselytes: the united system gave pain to some, but was becoming popular in most of the northern districts. The Defenders were generally of the lowest

\* Pieces of Irish History, p. 74.

† After spending about one year in Newgate, he ingratiated himself so far with the keeper of the prison as to obtain his permission to dine with a friend at Clontarf. They both went, but during and after dinner, the glass and hob-nobbing were so cheerfully applied, that Mr. Rowan (the keeper of Newgate becoming intoxicated) the supposed prisoner, was far upon the sea, in a fishing boat, when the keeper awoke: after one day's rowing Mr. H. Rowan got safe to France.

classes, and were hostile to most men who possessed property or character.

In Longford the nobility, clergy, and freeholders obtained permission from the Viceroy to levy money by subscription, for raising and maintaining a body of horse for their defence. Meetings and resolutions for the like purpose became frequent in other parts. Mr. Hamilton Rowan's escape from prison, on May 1st, 1794, made a deep impression, but differing in evincing joy for the occurrence. A reward of £1000 was offered to find and seize him : he was however beyond their reach, having gained the coast of France, in *the fishing boat*, as already given.

## CHAPTER IX.

Tenets of the Roman Catholic faith. Mr. David Latouche opposed to Emancipation. Prejudices among Grand Juries against Catholic Emancipation. Mr. S. Butler of Belfast, publishes a digest of the Penal Code, and defends the cause of the Roman Catholics. The Chancellor, and Speaker of the House of Commons, raise enemies to the Emancipation of the Catholics. The first meeting to petition was held in Tailors' Hall, Back-lane, December 2nd, 1792. A national guard was formed and wore a green uniform. A Deputation of Catholics proceeds to London, through Belfast; their reception there. Government alarmed by the determination of the Catholics. Mr. Grattan strong in his defence of the Roman Catholics, and Government inclining to grant them concessions. Dr. Duigenan and Mr. Ogle vehement in opposing Catholic claims. Acts of hostility by France against England. A Militia, 500 for each County, to be raised in Ireland. The Protestant Bishop of Killala favours Emancipation; The Protestant Bishop of Cashel opposed to it. Difficulties in raising the Militia. Government's intention to disarm the Volunteers. A national convention was announced to be held in Athlone. Defenderism ascribed to the Catholics. Application to Government, to be allowed to build Colleges to educate the Irish Priesthood.

THE principles of the United Irishmen gave alarm to the Protestant ascendancy classes as well as to the government. Their great object was, in the beginning, a total separation from England. The country had become so turbulent at this time, that the Earl of West-

morland was recalled from Ireland, and another system more lenient was introduced : matters had been arranged between Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland, so as that the Earl of Westmorland would give place to Earl Fitzwilliam in the government of Ireland. Pitt, however, the implacable opponent to Irish prosperity and independence, had intrigued in his arrangement, that Earl Cambden had been fixed upon, before Fitzwilliam's arrival in Ireland, to succeed immediately to this Nobleman's administration ; we will soon meet recitals of Ireland's woes, which have filled and completed the acme of her persecutions, and which have astonished the world with their results : the sad and ever to be deplored disasters of "'98" followed in quick succession, and gave birth to the sad and destructive measure of the *Union*.

The incidents of this period were so important to the interests of Ireland, that she has still to lament their baleful consequences. Every instance of ministerial duplicity entails more misery upon posterity, than upon the existing generation. Pitt knowing the real views and motives of his new friends, in insisting upon the government of Ireland, to be the emancipation of this enthralled country, the necessity of which he himself *insidiously* pointed out, assured them ("aliud in linguâ aliud in pectore clausum, i.e. one thing on the tongue, another within the breast) that his fullest convictions kept pace with their plans for the welfare of Ireland. It was believed in Ireland, not only by the Catholics, who had coalesced among themselves, but likewise by old friends of the Duke of Portland, that a full and entire emancipation of the Roman Catholic body was intended. In order to the new arrangements so speciously set forth, Grattan and Ponsonby were sent for to England and consulted by Mr. Pitt. The treasury bench was marshalled between Pitt and Sir Henry Parnell.

By the effects of the last convention bill, the Catholics were prevented from meeting by delegation. They

frequently, however, assembled in the summer, for the purpose of forwarding the general plan, in which they were unanimous, of total emancipation and equality with their Protestant fellow subjects. These meetings were necessarily more numerous than they would have been by delegation, and gave deep dissatisfaction to the Irish government. Their confidence had arisen to conviction, that what had in the preceding been lost by a vast majority, would, when backed by government, be carried with unanimity. The Catholics of Dublin took the lead, and by unanimous concurrence committed their cause to the talents, zeal and long tried sincerity of Mr. Grattan, and resolutions were published accordingly. Their example was followed by most of the counties, cities, and districts of Ireland.

The latter end of the year 1794, was a busy scene of intrigue. Mr. Pitt had several objects in consenting to the new arrangements, first to flatter, then to degrade his proselytes. He knew the confidence which the Irish would place in the new administration, and the alacrity with which they would vote the extraordinary supplies (£1,700,000) for carrying on a war, to which his colleagues were (as it was said) more inclined than himself. Mr. Beresford (of *triangle* and *pitch-cap memory*) who foresaw, that, in the change of the Irish government, a blow was aimed at the power and authority which he had exercised successively over every viceroy, from Lord Townshend to Lord Westmoreland, proceeded directly to England, where by perseverance and persuasion, he prevailed upon the king and his minister Pitt, to have Lord Fitzwilliam recalled, and the Catholic question thereby defeated.

That Lord Fitzwilliam went to Ireland, having a plenitude of power given him for carrying the claims of the Roman Catholics into full effect, stands roundly asserted by that nobleman himself and by Lord Milton, Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan. It was contradicted by Lord Westmoreland, who said in the British House of Peers, that "Mr. Pitt had assured him, that Earl

Fitzwilliam had no authority whatever from ministers in this country, for taking the steps he did on the Catholic question ; they were taken not only without their authority, but with their positive disapprobation." Lord Fitzwilliam took possession of his government on 4th Jan. 1795.

Although Lord Fitzwilliam had coalesced with Mr. Pitt, on the necessity of a war with France, and the general call to make head against the growth of democracy, he still retained all those valuable principles and estimable qualities which so peculiarly distinguished his late uncle the Marquis of Buckingham and the principal supporters of his party. Alike honorable and inflexible in his public and private dealings, he was a stranger to that system of pliancy and insincerity which Mr. Pitt required of his creatures and colleagues. He played not the intriguing courtier, but the honest minister, performing upon public principles his duty, equally regardless of the favour of the court and people. He had no sooner arrived at his seat of government, than he applied himself earnestly to work, insensible of the preconcerted opposition of Pitt to the whole of his system, yet had not Portland and Pitt both agreed with his Lordship in the policy and necessity of relieving the Roman Catholics from every remaining disqualification, as he told in his letter to Lord Carlisle, he never would have undertaken to govern Ireland. Before his departure from England, it had been resolved, that if the Catholics would appear determined to bring their claims before parliament, he was to give them his support. Three days after his landing, he transmitted the result of his observations to Pitt and the cabinet, and for a fortnight, no negative reply was sent.

The first public acts of Lord Fitzwilliam's government, were some dismissals from the castle which caused great apprehensions among those who filled places in its several departments.\* He made proposals to the

\* One of these was Mr Cooke, of whom Lord Fitzwilliam writes thus to Lord Carlisle, "Mr. Cooke, indeed. whose tone and style render his approach to a superior not to be admitted, rejects my proposals in his favour, and thinks a retreat upon £1200 a year an inadequate recompence for the importance of his services."

British ministers, for the removal of the Attorney and Solicitor-general, upon large provisions : it having been previously arranged with Portland and Pitt, that they were to be succeeded by Ponsonby and Curran. He also removed Mr. Beresford whom he found filling a situation greater than that of the Lord Lieutenant ; sensible that any connections with a man under universal and heavy suspicions, would be subjecting his government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity of Mr. Beresford's maladministration ; nor would he cloud the dawn of his *rule*, by leaving in such power and authority, so much imputed malversation : though in point of income, he left him as well as he had ever been. Mr. Beresford, his family and friends were then in the enjoyment of more emolument, than had ever been accumulated, in Ireland, by any other *family or connection*.

The address of the Catholics of Dublin, was presented to his Excellency on the 7th of January, 1795, and was followed up by numerous others ; they were all of the same tendency and received similar answers. It was truly observed, that the Catholics' gratitude for the late concessions, appeared less prominent in their addresses, than their confidence and hopes of their extension. On 22nd January, same year, Earl Fitzwilliam met the parliament, and in his speech alluded to the eventful situation of the British empire, called upon them to lend their aid to its support, in those extraordinary circumstances. Immediately after the speech had been read, Mr. Grattan \* moved the address.

Mr. Duquerry alone reprobated the war with pointed severity. The motion for the address was carried without a division ; as was also the motion of Mr. Conolly for an address to the Lord Lieutenant. The unanimity of the whole Catholic body, for an immediate application to parliament, for the unqualified repeal of the whole Penal code, was too formidable to be damped or

\* As this gentleman had not accepted of any place, Lord Clare called him the self-avowed minister of Lord Fitzwilliam.

disappointed. Lord Fitzwilliam judged it could not be postponed without danger. Mr. Grattan, who commanded the confidence of the Catholics and of the Lord Lieutenant, on the 24th of January, presented a petition of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, to be restored to the full enjoyment of the constitution, by a repeal of all the Penal-laws still affecting the Catholics of Ireland. It was ordered to lie on the table, which was soon laden with similar petitions from every body of Catholics throughout the realm.

On the 12th of February '95 Mr. Grattan obtained leave to bring in the bill, which was opposed only by Dr. Duigenan, Mr. Ogle, and Colonel Blaquiere. As there appeared a rising impatience, among the Catholics, after the delivery of their petitions, his Excellency apprehended, that the measure might be transferred from Mr. Grattan to some other, over whom he could have no controul; and he considered, that delay might be attended with most alarming and fatal consequences. On Feb. 4th, Lord Milton communicated to the House his Majesty's gracious answer to their address, which pointedly noticed, that the favourable sentiments. they had expressed of Lord Fitzwilliam, were pleasing to his Majesty, as they confirmed those impressions which recommended him to his Majesty's choice for the government of Ireland. This confirmation of the royal choice of the Viceroy was communicated to the House of Commons on the very day which brought tidings, that the British minister was adverse to the measure, which the Lord Lieutenant was thus publicly pursuing. The extraordinary joy of the Catholics on the occasion of leave to bring in their bill, was suddenly damped by this inexplicable intelligence.

Earl Fitzwilliam had been permitted to leave England with a plenitude of power and discretion over the Catholic question, and had acted, for more than a month, without any suggestion from the British cabinet, to controul him. On the 9th of February, Pitt's letter arrived concerning the dismissal of Beresford, to expos-

tulate with his Excellency on that head ; and also on the negociation with Messrs. Wolfe and Toler, the attorney and solicitor general, afterwards Lord Kilwarden and Lord Norbury. These three subjects formed the tenor of his letter : so far was he from finding any fault with the different measures hitherto pursued, that he concluded his letter by apologising *for interrupting his attention from the many important considerations of a different nature, to which all their minds ought to be directed.*

This evident allusion to the question of Catholic emancipation, ascertains the real cause of Pitt's determination to recal Lord Fitzwilliam ; and justifies his Lordship's assertion, that the cause of the Catholics was not the cause of his recal, but that it was solely owing to the dismissal of Beresford. On the 17th of February, Mr. Graydon moved for a committee to enquire into the expenditures of the revenue for twenty years past, the number of additional officers appointed in each year, with the names of the persons, and salary annexed to each office. The motion was carried against the single negative of Colonel Blaquiere. The resolutions of the British cabinet were not instantly followed up by the recal of the viceroy. The determination was known to many, though publicly avowed by none.

Sir Laurence Parsons, afterwards titled by the advocates of the disastrous union, Lord Rosse, who with Mr. Duquerry had stood alone in opposition to the government upon the question of the war with France, noticed the prevailing rumour, that their viceroy was about to be recalled. If it arose from any new restriction on his wishes to realise the professions of his administration, or to fill his high station with honour, his resignation reflected the highest lustre on the dignity of his nature and the purity of his principles ; but as he still hoped, that measures had not proceeded to that length, which must deprive the country in so critical a juncture, of the auspices of a nobleman, who came the harbinger and the hostage of her political salvation,

he moved for an address to his Excellency to implore his continuance amongst them. Mr. Duquerry seconded the motion. He and the honorable baronet had differed from gentlemen on the other side of the house respecting the ruinous war ; but if after voting the enormous supply of £1,700,000, to save, if possible, the empire from destruction, they were to be deprived of the administration of that nobleman, to whom the people looked up with confidence, he feared the great and salutary measures of reform, retrenchment, and responsibility would vanish, and the Catholics of Ireland, instead of the accomplishment of their hopes, would have the gates of the castle closed against them.

Sir Laurence animadverted severely upon Mr. Pitt's conduct, who, not satisfied with having involved the empire in a disastrous war, intended to complete the mischief, by risking the internal peace of Ireland, making the friends of that country the dupes of his fraud and artifice, in order to swindle the nation out of £1,700,000, to support the war, on the faith of measures, which he well knew and decided, should be refused. On 2nd March, Sir Laurence Parsons moved for a three months' money bill, which Mr. Conolly proposed to compromise, and the house divided, 24 for and 146 against Sir Laurence Parsons' motion. Mr. Conolly then proposed three resolutions, " 1st, that his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, had by his conduct, since his arrival in Ireland, merited the thanks of the house and the confidence of the people. 2nd, that to prorogue the parliament, before the grievances, of which the people complained, were removed, would be highly inexpedient. 3rd, that the foregoing resolutions be laid before his Majesty." The first of these resolutions was carried unanimously ; the two others, at the instance of Lord Milton and Mr. Grattan, were withdrawn.

On March 10, 1795, the house adjourned to the 24th, when the money bills were carried up to the Lords, and the house then further adjourned to the 13th of April, in order to allow time for the new arrange-

ments. The report of Earl Fitzwilliam's removal gave universal alarm to the Irish Catholics, and in most places of the kingdom, desperation. Meetings were held to forward resolutions against his recall, and addresses were framed expressive of the insult hatched by the wily Pitt against the most popular Lord-Lieutenant ever sent to govern Ireland. The spirit of discontent was not confined to the Catholics ; the Dissenters and those Protestants who were not of the ascendancy class, participated in the displeasure evinced by the Catholic body. All good Irishmen beheld with sorrow and indignation, the reconciliation of all parties, interests, and religions defeated, the cup of national union dashed from their lips, and the spirit of discord let loose with an enlarged commission to inflame, aggravate and destroy.

The Catholics of Dublin took the lead, and deputed three of their body to present a petition to the king at the levee, praying on behalf of their body that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his excellency in the government of Ireland. On 5th March, the Duke of Leinster, in the house of lords, rose at a late hour, and after prefacing what he was about to propose, with a warm and affectionate eulogy upon the character of Lord Fitzwilliam, moved the following resolution, "that his Excellency Earl Fitzwilliam, since his arrival in this kingdom, had, by his public conduct, merited the thanks of this house, and the confidence of the country." Lord Dillon opposed the motion ; upon which a warm debate ensued, but with a slight amendment the resolution passed.

On 27th February, 1795, the Catholics of Dublin appointed two gentlemen of their body to present an address to Mr. Grattan, to which they received an immediate answer, which has been more censured by some and applauded by others, than anything that ever came from his mouth.

"In supporting you, I support the Protestant : we have but one interest and one honor : and whoever

gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all. The Protestant already begins to feel it. A late attack rallied the scattered spirits of the country, from the folly of religious schism, to the recollection of national honor; and a nation's feuds are lost in a nation's resentment. Your emancipation will pass, rely on it: your emancipation must pass: it may be death to one viceroy: it will be the peace offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one governor to be craftily converted into the olive of his successor.

"Let me advise you by no means postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war; rather let Britain receive the benefits of your zeal, during the exigency which demands it; and you yourselves, while you are fighting to preserve the blessings of a constitution, have really and *bonna fide* those blessings.

"My wish is, that you may be free now, there is no other policy which is not low and little: let us at once instantly embrace and greatly emancipate.

"On this principle, I mean to introduce your bill, with your permission, immediately after the recess.

"His Excellency Lord Fitzwilliam, may boast that he offered to the empire the affections of millions, a better aid to the war, than his enemies can furnish, who have forfeited those affections, and put themselves in their place.

"So decidedly have the measures of Ireland served the empire, that those who were concerned in them, might appeal from the cabals of the British cabinet to the sense of the British nation. I know of no cause afforded for the displeasure of the British cabinet; but if services done to Ireland, are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I must lament the gloomy prospects of both kingdoms, and receive a discharge from the service of government, as the only honor an English minister can confer on an Irish subject."

## CHAPTER X.

March 25th, 1795, Earl Fitzwilliam withdrew from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. A day of gloomy anticipations—desponding prognostics of Grattan for the fate of the country.—Administration of Earl Camden. Public discontent and turbulence manifested themselves on his arrival.—Administration of Earl Camden. His arrival in Dublin. A meeting of the Catholics held in Francis-street chapel, April 9th, 1795.—Mr. Keogh, one of those deputed to London, addressed the meeting on the subject of their mission.—During their debates, a party of T. C. Students arrive in the chapel; the Fellows and Provost proceeded alone to address Earl Camden.—Grattan pronounces the system of ruling Ireland to be execrable.—The Duke of Portland. May 4th, 1795, the bill for emancipation of the Catholics debated. The Solicitor-general and Lord Kingsborough opposed it.—Mr. Arthur O'Connor spoke and addressed the house in favor of emancipation. The bill defeated. June 5th, 1795, parliament prorogued.—Defenderism spread widely. John Claudius Beresford. Secret committee in the House of Lords, denounced the Catholics as traitors.—Messrs. O'Connor, Emmett, and Dr. McNevin. To forward the united system, Baronial, County, and Provincial Societies were formed.—Republicanism strong in the views and wishes of the United Irishmen. The separation of Ireland from England, wished for by the French.—The Presbyterians partial to republican principles.—An oath introduced into the test of the United Irishmen; the form and words of the oath.—Secret agents forwarded by government into the county of Armagh, to establish the Orange system.—The extermination of the Catholics formed the basis of orangeism. 1795, during the summer, Lord Carhampton emptied the prisons by sending 1300 of their inmates as prisoners, to help to man the fleets.—The battle of the Diamond, in which the defenders were defeated.

ADDRESSES and resolutions were daily multiplied from different bodies of Catholics, who not content with having addressed his Majesty, his vicegerent, and parliament, now addressed particular characters, of extraordinary influence or supposed power in the country: as the last resort in their despondency; calling upon their exertions to prevent the threatened catastrophe; all was fruitless. On the 25th of March, 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland, when the resentment, grief, and indignation of the public, were most strongly marked. It was a day of general gloom;\*

\* Henry Grattan proceeds thus on the doleful occurrence—"I conceive the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam is necessary for the prosperity of Ireland: his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to discountenance a progress of vulgar

the shops were closed at the sad event ; no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the water-side by some of the most respectable citizens, and cordial sorrow appeared on every face.

*Administration of Earl Camden the precursor of  
Irish woes, 1795.*

Earl Camden, who before the appointment of his immediate predecessor had been destined by Mr. Pitt to fill the situation of Viceroy, as the best calculated to continue the system of Lords Buckingham and Westmorland, arrived in Dublin, five days after Lord Fitzwilliam had left it. Mr. Pitt's two grand objects had been carried by the unprecedented vote of £1,700,000, towards carrying on the war, and the degradation and further division of the proselytes he had allured from the Rockingham party. So much displeasure appeared on Lord Camden's arrival, that it was found necessary to call out the military to prevent outrage. Still the passion for meetings continued. On April 9th, the Catholics met in their Chapel of Francis-street in Dublin, to receive the report of the delegates who had presented their petition to his Majesty at St. James's : when Mr. Keogh reported, that in execution of their mission, they had on the 13th of March presented their petition to his Majesty, and had received what was generally termed a gracious reception. That they had afterwards

and rapid pollution : if he is to retire I condole with my country—for myself, the pangs on that occasion I should feel, on rendering up my small portion of ministerial breath, would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects afforded by those dreadful guardians which are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return to power of your old task-master ; that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice : should such a combination at once, inflamed as it must be now by the favour of the British court, and by the reprobation of the Irish people, return to power, I have no hesitation to say, that they will extinguish Ireland, or, Ireland must remove them ; it is not your cause only, but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the struggle ; I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issues of her fortunes. Whatsoever shall be the event, I will adhere to her interests to the last moment of my life.

felt it their duty to request an audience with the Duke of Portland, the Secretary of State for the home department, to receive such information as he should think fit to impart relative to his Majesty's determination on the subject of their address. That his grace declined giving any information whatever, save that his Majesty had imparted his pleasure thereon to the Lord Lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel, through which that information should pass : here their mission was determined.

Mr. Keogh spoke strongly upon the critical situation of affairs. The failure of their wishes would, he hoped, rouse the Irish legislature to a sense of its own dignity. It showed, that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Irish Parliament was competent, were to be previously adjusted by a British cabinet. A very animated debate ensued, in which the speakers emulated each other in enhancing the advantages of an union of Irishmen of every class and religion. Now for the first time, they spoke of and deprecated an union with Great Britain, to which they saw the present system of measures was obviously directed. Whilst this debate was going on a large party of the young men of the college\* came into the Chapel and were most honourably received. The freedom of speech used by the gentlemen who took part in this debate, gave deep offence at the castle.

\* It has been the constant custom of Trinity College to present addresses of congratulation to every newly arrived chief governor : the day was appointed for presenting their offering to Lord Camden. When the procession was on its way, the students, as if with one consent, broke off and left the Provost and Fellows to make what appearance they might think fit before his Excellency, while they themselves turned into a coffee-house at the castle-gate, and there prepared an address to Mr. Grattan, approving of his general character and conduct. This they presented directly, and having done so, they repaired to Francis-street chapel where the Catholics were assembled, and were most honourably received. They entered while Mr. Keogh was speaking, and that ready and able orator instantly seized the incident and joyously greeted their arrival. They were received with the most marked respect and affection. The Catholics taking that opportunity of shewing that the language of union and brotherly love which they were uttering only expressed the sentiments nearest their hearts.—*Pieces of Irish History*, p. 114.

On the 13th May, 1795, Lord Cole moved a congratulatory address to the Lord-lieutenant, on his arrival to take on him the government of the kingdom, which was carried without a division. Mr. Grattan, however, said, he felt himself much more strongly inclined to condole with the country, on the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, than to congratulate it on the appointment of Lord Camden. He afterwards moved for a committee to enquire into the state of the nation, on which occasion he confidently asserted what he knew was generally known, that the Duke of Portland had declared, "he accepted office principally with a view to reform the abuses in the government of Ireland; that the system of that government was execrable, so much so, as to threaten not only Ireland with the greatest misfortune, but ultimately the empire; that his grace would have gone in person, if he had not found a second self in Lord Fitzwilliam, his nearest and dearest friend, whom he persuaded to accept the Irish government, and to whom he committed the important office of reforming the manifold abuses in that country. That the removals were stipulated for, by that part of the British cabinet: and Catholic emancipation was not only the concession of that quarter of the cabinet, but its precise engagement." This first division, under Lord Camden, of 48 for, and 158 against the motion, shewed the strength of government in the house. The 4th of May 1795, brought on the important debate, on the second reading of the Roman Catholic bill for their total emancipation. The Solicitor General moved, that it should be rejected: this was seconded by Lord Kingsborough.

Mr. Arthur O'Connor, well known for his politics, made one of the most brilliant speeches ever heard in the Irish parliament in support of it.\* It was now for

\* This speech first raised him into notice; he was brought on by his uncle Lord Longueville who was a supporter of the administration. His Lordship was so offended with the speech of his nephew, that the next morning he sent for him, and desired him to resign his seat, which he accordingly carried into effect.

the first time urged, that if the bill should pass, the king would infringe his coronation oath. This formed the chief novelty of argument. Never was there a more heated debate in parliament. On the morning of May 5th, the bill was rejected by a majority of 71. Thus an end was put to the fond hopes of the Irish Catholics seeking the total emancipation of themselves and their posterity, from the dreadful scourges of persecution inflicted by their unrelenting task-masters of England. On 5th June, 1795, the parliament was prorogued. The Lord-lieutenant's speech comprised the king's thanks for the supplies granted, alluding also to the removal of the hearth-tax ; and also recommended the erection of a Catholic college for the Irish priesthood.

During the summer of that year the defenders increased in numbers and perpetrated numerous outrages. John Claudius Beresford and his adherents had become very obnoxious to the people, on account of their opposition to parliamentary reform, to Catholic emancipation, and for having been principally instrumental to the removal of Earl Fitzwilliam. The British cabinet had all those reinstated whom that beneficent Viceroy had put out of office. From this time the movements among the people began to settle down into a system of mysterious secrecy. A secret committee of the house of Lords had declared \* "the attainment of parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation were and continued to be holden out by them, as a pretence for their associations, and with a view to seduce persons who were not apprised of their traitorous designs, to unite with them." Some leading heads of these societies whose real views were to separate Ireland from Great Britain, took advantage of the critical moment and converted this austerity of government into a powerful engine of securing confidence in their designs.

Three members of the Irish Union, Messrs. O'Connor, Emmett, and Dr. M'Nevin, whilst in prison, wrote a

\* 7 Lords' Journal, p. 580.

detailed memoir of its origin and progress, and delivered it into the Irish government ; in which they say, "The first of these societies, as we best recollect, in the year 1795, in order to secure cooperation and uniformity of action, organised a system of committees baronial, county, and provincial, and even national ; but it was long before the skeleton of this organization was filled up. While the formation of these societies was in agitation, the friends of liberty were gradually, but with a timid step, advancing towards republicanism ; they began to be convinced, that it would be as easy to obtain a revolution as a reform, so obstinately was the latter resisted ; and as the conviction impressed itself on their mind, they were inclined not to give up the struggle, but to extend their views ; it was for this reason, that in their test the words are, *an equal representation of all the people of Ireland*, without inserting the word parliament. This test embraced both the republican and the reformer, and left to future circumstances to decide, to which point the common strength should be directed ; but still the whole body, we are convinced, would rejoice to stop short at reform. Another consideration however, led the minds of reflecting United Irishmen to look towards a republic and separation from England : this was the war with France ; they clearly perceived, that their strength was not likely to become speedily equal to wresting from the English and the borough interest in Ireland even a reform."

"Foreign assistance would therefore perhaps become necessary, but foreign assistance could only be hoped for in proportion as the object to which it would be applied, was important to the party giving it. A reform in the Irish parliament was no object to the French : a separation of Ireland from England was a mighty one indeed. Thus they reasoned—shall we between two objects, confine ourselves to the least valuable, even though it be equally difficult to be obtained, if we consider the relation of Ireland with the

rest of Europe ? Whatever progress the united system had made among the Catholics throughout the kingdom, and after the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, notwithstanding many resolutions which had appeared from them, manifesting a growing spirit, they were considered as entertaining an habitual spirit for monarchy, but also as being less attached than the presbyterians to political liberty. There were however certain men among them, who rejoiced at the rejection of their claims, because it gave them an opportunity of pointing out, that the adversaries of reform were their adversaries ; they used the recal of that nobleman and the rejection of his measures, to cement together, in political union, the catholic and presbyterian masses.

The modern societies for their protection against informers and prosecutions had introduced into their test a clause of secrecy. They did more, they changed the engagement of their predecessors into an oath ; and mutual confidence increased when religion was called in aid of mutual security.

From reflection and experience, the people became convinced, that no system but that of union could succeed ; they therefore formed themselves into affiliated societies, and adopted the following solemn test ; " I, A. B. in the awful presence of God, do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion ; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people in Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform of, or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of this obligation."

In the course of this year, i.e. 1795, united societies were formed in most parts of the kingdom. Government became alarmed, agents were sent to Armagh, to

turn the ferocity and fanaticism of the Peep-of-day Boys into a religious contest with the Catholics, under an imposing zeal for the Protestant Church and King. Personal animosity was artfully converted into religious rancour, and for specious purpose of taking off the stigma of delinquency, the appellation of Peep-of-day Boys, was changed into that of *Orangemen*. At first no person of consequence appeared in it ; the first Orange lodge was formed on the 21st of September 1795. Like the United Irishmen, they were soon affiliated and their numbers increased. They pretended to support the constitution in the spirit of William the Prince of Orange. Their practices were intolerant and exterminating. Their original test was said to have been, "In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B. do solemnly swear that I will to the utmost of my power, support the King and the present government, and I do further swear, that I will use my utmost exertions to exterminate all the Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland." The great increase of the Orange institution did not take place till the ensuing year.

The boldness of the defenders in the summer of 1795 assumed a formidable appearance. So far were they from being countenanced by the Catholics, that their open outrages were attempted against some Catholic magistrates in the county of Kildare where they appeared in bodies of several hundreds. Lord Carhampton, impatient or dissatisfied at the law's delay, undertook to exert a vigour beyond it. He emptied all the prisons of their tenants, and without form of trial sent them and every one he chose to suspect of disaffection, on his own authority, to serve on board the fleet. Above 1300 were thus transported from their homes during the summer. The measure was as highly applauded by the government, as it was reprobated by the opposition.

During the summer assizes of this year several persons were tried for defenderism and found guilty of high treason, and the animosity of the Peep-of-day Boys

was renewed in the county of Armagh, to such an extent, that, on the 21st of September, the Battle of the Diamond so called from a village of that name, was fought, in which the defenders though greatly superior in numbers, were defeated with considerable slaughter. From this defeat of the defenders, are to be traced, the increased rancour and ferocity of their opponents, who had formed themselves into clubs of Orangemen, and thereby having increased their strength, meditated the extermination of the whole race of Catholics out of the County of Armagh.

## CHAPTER XI.

Measures to keep peace in every county. Mr. Grattan opposed to the address, saying, that for their loyalty, the people received contumely and insolence.—Tartars and Chinese. Lord Fitzwilliam. The succeeding government. Fourteen new appointments made. Clerks, spies, &c.—The Attorney-general. New measures. Extension of power to magistrates.—Atrocities of defenderism. Peep-of-day Boys. Intended extermination of the Catholics.—Hell or Connaught. Orangeism. County Armagh. 800 Roman Catholic families driven from their homes, 7,000 individuals expelled: massacre and despotic power.—A supine and partial magistracy. Lord Gossford governor of Armagh county: his address.—Parliament prorogued. An anonymous pamphlet: its malignity, Grand Jury of Armagh. Provincial United Irishmen.—Murders committed on witnesses. The hand of power. The people of Belfast, their aid and sympathies for the persecuted Catholics of Armagh.—The object and cause of defenderism; want of uniformity in its views and action.—Object of the united system: it tended to abolish political distinctions. Bigotry a mischievous principle. Organisation of the united system.—Separation from England contemplated. Summer of 1796. O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin. Hamilton Rowan, Napper Tandy.—French aid expected in Ireland. 1796, Yeomanry corps formed. Arming of the United Irishmen. 100,000 armed in Ulster. Number of United Irishmen, in 1796, amounted to 500,000.—Excesses of the Military. Colonel Sparrow murdered a Mr. Lucas. The murderer found guilty but acquitted. Encouragement given to Orangemen.—Dread of a French invasion. The Lawyers' corps of yeomanry. Partiality and persecution. The Orangemen of Armagh.—Secretary Pelham and Dr. Duigenan. City of Cork; Colonel Hutchinson; his address to the citizens.—Parliament met, 13th October, 1796. A French invasion chief subject of the King's message.

WHEN the Parliament met on the 21st of January, 1796, the Lord Lieutenant after having alluded to the

general affairs of the continent and noticed some domestic occurrences in the provinces, prepared them for a heavy loan. He adverted to those secret and treasonable associations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which had, in some degree, been disclosed, on several trials, and to the disturbances which had taken place in some parts of the kingdom; he called upon their prudence and wisdom, to devise such measures as, together with a continuance of those exertions and the additional powers, which, by the advice of the privy council, he had thought it necessary to establish in some counties, would prevent the return of similar excesses. Upon the motion for an address, Mr. Grattan objected only to that part of it which expressed a confidence in the present administration.

The people of Ireland were loyal to their sovereign, for which they had been treated with insolence and contumely. The system of the administration had been for several years profligate and corrupt. The horns of Government had been sent out to the different grand juries in order to procure addresses and resolutions to wall-out the Catholics from the constitution, as the English formerly walled-out the Scotch, and the Chinese had walled-out the Tartars. The British cabinet had, during the administration of Lord Fitzwilliam, broken faith with Ireland. He reprobated the conduct of Lord Westmoreland in granting the reversion of every capital employment in the kingdom, after his successor had been appointed, 13 of which had been thus arranged and 14 new ones created.

The conduct of the British cabinet towards Ireland, was influenced by false witnesses: by bad viceroys who had acted in their administration unfavourably; to the misrepresentations of men in high power, were added the false testimony and prejudices of clerks, spies, and sycophants: a majority of 108 overcame the untiring efforts, and this distinguished amendment proposed by Mr. Grattan. The attorney general, besides bringing in two bills for preventing insurrections, tumults, and

riots, and indemnifying magistrates acting against the law, moved the following resolutions :—1. "*Resolved*, That the spirit of conspiracy and outrage, which has appeared in some parts of this kingdom, and has shewn itself in various attempts to assassinate magistrates, to murder witnesses, to plunder houses, and seize by force the arms of his Majesty's peaceable subjects, requires, that more effectual powers should be given to the magistracy." 2nd. "*Resolved*, That (in such parts of this kingdom as the said spirit has shewn itself, or to which there may be cause to apprehend its being extended) it will be necessary that the magistracy should have enlarged powers of searching for arms, ammunition, and weapons of offence, and of seizing and securing the same, for the preservation of the peace, and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects." 3d. "*Resolved*, That from the many attacks which have been made on the houses of individuals, by large bodies of armed insurgents, for the purpose of taking arms and money by force, and murdering those who had the spirit to enforce the laws or give information against offenders, it will be necessary, that the magistracy should have enlarged powers, to prevent such bodies hereafter from assembling or meeting either to plan or execute such horrid purposes." 4th. "*Resolved*, That it will be necessary to give the magistracy further powers with respect to vagabonds, idle and disorderly persons, and persons liable to be deemed so, or who have no lawful trade, or any honest means to obtain a livelihood."

These resolutions were ushered in with a minute detail of the outrages committed by the defenders, during the four preceding years ; without reference to the atrocities committed during the same period by the Peep-of-day Boys. Of those outrages Mr. Grattan gave a detailed account of their contents and object to be, *the total extermination of all the Catholics in the county of Armagh*. This was a persecution conceived in the bitterness of bigotry, and carried on with ferocious

barbarity by a banditti who called themselves Orange boys or Protestant boys, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of liberty. They formed themselves into a committee, tried the Catholics, and sent them either on board a tender, or to a recruiting officer as deserters. They gave them short notices to quit their dwellings in the laconic words "Hell or Connaught,"\* and they followed them by punctual execution of this horrid threat.

The measure proposed by the attorney general was defective; it was a partial description of the outrages of the kingdom, and a partial remedy: it proposed to suspend the operation of the constitution with a view to produce peace, leaving at the same time in one great county, violence and insurrection in a state of triumph. About eight hundred Catholic families of Armagh were forced by a violent mob, and a supine magistracy, to abandon their dwellings, and carry themselves and families and tales of woe to their brethren in the other parts of the kingdom, and spread the flames of discontent and spirit of retaliation. The evil was greatly aggravated by the magistrates of the county of Armagh, several of whom refused to take the examination of the injured Catholics. By some of the very magistrates they had been cruelly persecuted; others would only hear them out of the window, and some actually turned them from their doors with threats.

These circumstances produced a very spirited address from Lord Gossford, which by some, among the Treasury Bench, was complained of as incautious. Their argument for not taking particular notice of the county of Armagh, was, that the existing laws were sufficient to punish the crimes by which that part of the country was convulsed; whereas the enormities there committed

\* "Nunc peregre, sine re, sine spe, sine lege vagantur, Posteritas audi; scelus exhorresce nefandum." O'Kelly's *Historica descriptio Hiberniæ*, p. 70.

*Translated*—Now they wander to strange parts, without means, without hope, without law; hear, O Posterity! shudder at these wicked outrages.

were emphatically admitted by Lord Gossford, the governor, to extend beyond the reach of the law. On the 24th of March, the money bills were presented, and on 15th August the parliament was prorogued. The ferment of the public was increased by an abusive pamphlet written by one of the secretaries of the castle, though published anonymously, reflecting upon Mr. Grattan and Lord Fitzwilliam. It produced a most virulent paper war. It was generally believed that 7,000 Catholics had been forced or turned out of the county of Armagh, and that the ferocious banditti who had expelled them had been encouraged, connived at, and protected by the Government.

At the Lent Assizes of this year, the Sheriff, Governor, and Grand Jury of the county of Armagh, published an address and resolutions, to soften the public impression of the ferocious outrages of those exterminators. Their annunciation of impartial justice to every sect was unseasonable, when there remained no longer in their county any of one denomination to commit outrages upon, or to retaliate injuries. These resolutions were chiefly produced by the prosecutions which had been carried by the provincial committees of the United Irishmen, against the most notorious offenders and some of the most guilty magistrates of Armagh. But that measure increased the mischief in another way. Many of those who attempted to swear examinations, were killed or forced to fly, and others compelled by the fear of death to retract or contradict the evidence they had given. Most of those prosecutions which had been proceeded upon, were either permitted to be eluded by legal artifice, or defeated by the hand of power. The only effectual relief which the wretched fugitives experienced, was from the United Irishmen of Belfast. They found it useless to look up for any redress to the laws or the government of the country. As they spread they carried with them the fame of the sincerity and condiality of many Northerns towards the persecuted Catholics of Armagh, and inspired all their brethren

with a confidence in their protectors. Their gratitude and sympathies extinguished former prejudices against the people of Belfast, and dissenters,\* and taught remote districts, to which the system of Union had been till then unknown, to admire and adopt it.

About this time the United system gained strength from its coalition with the defenders, particularly in the counties of Down and Antrim, and afterwards extended to others. From the first formation of the union, its most active members were anxious to learn the views and intentions of the defenders. The latter wished to redress many of those grievances against which the efforts of the former were directed ; but their wishes were not sufficiently seconded by intelligence, nor did their constitution appear calculated for cooperation on an extensive scale : it seemed almost exclusively Catholic, and, as far as could be ascertained, was not sufficiently representative. Besides, as most counties have something peculiar to themselves, either in their test, their formalities, or their signs, a defender in one county, therefore, was not one in another ; and the association, or rather mass of associations, wanted uniformity of views and action.

As defenderism owed its origin to religious animosities, as it was almost entirely composed of illiterate persons, there was reason to apprehend, it might still be vitiated by bigotry and ignorance, and that instead of reserving its physical strength for one object and one effort, it might waste itself, as was actually the case in Connaught, in partial and ineffectual insurrections against local grievances. The United system, on the other hand, by pursuing only one thing, "an equal, full, and adequate representation of the people," secured an uniformity of views, and by fixing attention on the state of representation, as the fruitful parent of every evil measure ; it suggested, wherever it gained admission, a remedy for the oppressions by which the inhabitants were most afflicted. Proceeding

on the principle of abolishing all political distinctions, on account of religion, and of establishing a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every persuasion, it struck at the root of bigotry, received the support and secured the cooperation of every sect, that was not rendered hostile by an immediate interest in the abuses it proposed to remedy.

Organised under a series of committees which were connected together to the highest rank, it was capable of perfect cooperation, and had in itself all the advantages of a provisional representative government, to which it was habituating its members. There was no repugnance in the tests of the two bodies, and many Catholics had from the commencement belonged to both. Many Protestant United Irishmen resolved to break the exclusively Catholic appearance of defenderism; there being nothing in the test or regulations to prevent them from being incorporated with the body into which they had been first sworn. They pointed out to their new associates, that the *something* which the defenders vaguely conceived ought to be done for Ireland, was by separating it from England to establish its real as well as its nominal independence, and they urged the necessity of combining into one body all who were actuated by the same views. The defenders by specific votes in their own societies, agreed to be sworn United Irishmen and incorporated in large bodies into the Union. It is to be remarked, that in the summer of 1796, few of the leaders of the subsequent rebellious union, were acting with the members of the first open and avowed society of United Irishmen.\*

\* In the memoir of O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin, they say (p. 9.) "none of us were members of the united system until September or October in the year 1795." Mr. T. W. Tone had fled the country in 1795, upon suspicion of being implicated in the treason of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, who was found guilty of high treason on the 23rd of April 1795. When he was called up to receive sentence, he died in court of poison he had previously taken. Mr. Hamilton Rowan about the same time escaped out of prison to the continent. Mr. Napper Tandy having been indicted for high treason about the same time, was proceeding to take his trial at Dundalk; when he was met about twelve miles from that town by his attorney, who apprizing him of the dead weight of evidence against him, returned to Dublin, and fled to the continent.

\* With a view of being prepared as much as possible to cooperate with the enemy then expected, and in order to counteract the effect of the armed associations of yeomanry, established in October, 1796, directions were issued by the leaders of the societies, to form themselves into military bodies, and to be provided with arms and ammunition. The directions were so effectually obeyed, that the numbers of armed men in the province of Ulster, amounted to nearly one hundred thousand, ready to take the field on the arrival of the enemy or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their superior officers. The arming of this society was not originally intended, but was only introduced after the passing the insurrection and indemnity acts, when the people began to be more than ever carried towards resistance, and were extremely irritated by the indemnified violations of law in the north. † The whole body of United Irishmen amounted to 500,000. About the end of 1796, they became more formidable throughout Ulster. The charge of of their holding committees of assassination is false. Some private murders, and the survivors of the most obnoxious characters, to whom members of the Union had constant access, would refute the charge of any such organised system of bloodshed, had it not been formally denied and disclaimed by the gentlemen, who gave in a very correct memoir of the rise and progress of the United Irishmen. The public fever advanced with the season.

Many outrages of the defenders were punished by the military, in a most unwarrantable manner, upon innocent untried persons, without charge or trial, upon mere suspicion or absence of a landlord, they burned houses, maimed and sometimes murdered the natives, for merely inhabiting the districts into which they were sent. Terrible is the consequence of protecting crime.

\* Report of the secret committee XVII. Com. Journals. DCCCXXIX. An account of the military organisation in Historical Review. p. 568.

† Memoir IX.

At the assizes of Armagh, Colonel Sparrow was tried and found guilty of murdering a Mr. Lucas ; upon his receiving sentence, he produced his Majesty's pardon to the court, and was instantly liberated. This greatly irritated the people : as did the encouragement given to Orangemen by government, in allowing them two guineas per man, for arms and accoutrements. In the autumn of this year government encouraged the formation of armed corps of yeomanry which were at first strongly disrelished and opposed by many ; and the Catholics not being generally admitted into these corps, resented their rejection as an invidious distinction, tending to question their loyalty and sincerity in their country's cause.

They accordingly waited on Mr. Pelham, the secretary, for leave to raise a Catholic corps, but were told, that if they chose, they might join the corps then raising by their Protestant fellow subjects. Some few did, but the shyness and reluctance with which Catholics were admitted into the Protestant corps of yeomanry, kept most from joining them. The dread of a French invasion, was the ostensible reason for embodying these corps. Nothing so much reconciled them to the public, as the formation of the lawyers' corps. At a general meeting of the bar, on the 14th of September, 1796, it was resolved, that they held it expedient, with the permission of government, to form an armed association for the defence of the kingdom.

It was objected to the administration, that whilst they sent forth a proclamation for the houghing of a bullock in the south, they smothered, in silence, the murder and proscription of hundreds of human beings in the North : that no statute, proclamation, or resolutions of public bodies, had specified or punished the crimes of the orangemen in Armagh, no perpetrators of them had been punished, not a single magistrate had been stricken out of the commission, though many were known to have connived at and encouraged those outrages : and that several were rewarded by commands in the yeomanry

corps, and otherwise favoured by government. An invitation from the borough and county of Armagh to Mr. Pelham and Dr. Duigenan, to represent them in the ensuing Parliament, riveted in the minds of the great mass of the people a firm conviction, that the impunity of the fanatic exterminators of Armagh found countenance, support and favour from the civil and ecclesiastical power. The congenial opposition given by Mr. Pelham and Dr. Duigenan to the question of Catholic emancipation, recommended them to Armagh. The contrary spirit of toleration endeared Colonel (now Lord) Hutchinson \* to the city of Cork.

The Parliament met on the 13th of October, 1796, when the Lord Lieutenant informed them, that his Majesty had required their attendance thus early in consequence of the enemy's threatening a descent upon Ireland, which he confided in the spirit, loyalty, and zeal of his faithful people of this country to repel: now for the first time he took tender notice of the disturbances in Armagh.† “I have however to lament, that in one part of the country good order has not been yet entirely

\* “It would be ridiculous in me to make you a vain display and an idle pageantry of my loyalty which no man has ever presumed to doubt or deny. Brought up in the army almost from my infancy, and now a general officer in the King's service, I must be loyal from duty, interest, affection, habit and feeling; it would be too late for me to desert that cause for which I have fought, and for which I am ready to die.

“I love and revere our glorious constitution; I have studied and endeavoured to comprehend its principles, and have yet to learn that they tend to exclusion and intolerance. Sure I am, that the representation of all freehold property is the basis upon which it is erected; and that every departure from this its vital principle, is a violation of that vital principle and constitution, which will be most applauded by those who understand it best. To unite all sects in one common comprehension, to consolidate the nation, in order to give security to the people, strength to the empire and dignity to the crown, has ever been the first object of my political life. These were my sentiments open and avowed long before I had the honor of representing you in Parliament. Your own experience has proved, that they were not founded in error; you must have uniformly observed, that the prosperity of the country has increased in direct proportion with the relaxation of the penal code; and you must be convinced, that the circumstances of the times, and the situation of surrounding Europe, imperiously require the union of all the inhabitants of this island.”

† 17 Jour. Com. p. 9.

restored, and that in other districts a treasonable system of secret confederation, by the administering of illegal oaths, still continues, although no means within the reach of government have been left untried to counteract it."\* Mr. Grattan objected to the speech. It contained no reconciling matter. After a brilliant speech he moved the following amendment, "to represent to his Majesty, that the most effectual method for strengthening the country and promoting unanimity, was to take such measures, and to enact such laws, as to ensure to all his Majesty's subjects, the blessings and privileges of the constitution, without any distinction of religion." The amendment was only supported by 12 against 147. When the house was in a committee, for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, Mr. George Ponsonby observed, that were he to stand alone he should exert his utmost powers to resist the measure. After a long and intemperate debate, 7 only voted with Mr. Ponsonby, and 137 with the ministry.

\* 17 Parl. Deb. p. 3.

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## CHAPTER XII.

France prepares to invade Ireland. Theobald Wolf Tone: his character, and ardent efforts for the freedom of his country: he sails to America; his escape at sea. France and England.—The arrival of T. Wolf Tone in Havre; General Hoche appointed to command the expedition to Ireland. The rank which T. W. Tone held in the expeditionary army. The number of sail of the Line, frigates &c., &c., cannon, and munitions of war &c., &c. The character of General Hoche.—Disasters of the French fleet after leaving Brest; name of the the French admiral. Separation of the fleet by a storm. Arrival of some vessels and troops in Bantry bay.—The Prince of Wales accompanied by Earl Moira, expected in Ireland as viceroy.—An offer made by the Prince to the British Minister, for reconciliation of the Irish: bigotry against Ireland prevailed.—Catholic Emancipation proposed by Grattan. Continental alliances. Proposal to raise an Irish Brigade, of 6,000 men. Dr. Duigenan's philippic against Popery and the Catholic leaders.—Emancipation discussed, for the last time, in the Irish parliament. 50,000 yeomanry to be

raised. Secretary Pelham on the invasion of Ireland. Grattan replies to him ably.—Earl of Moira, his statement and advice concerning Ireland.—Loyalty of the Irish. The qualities that were wanted towards Ireland: her many merits pointed out.—Earl Moira's motion, in the British House of Peers, opposed by Lord Grenville and defeated. Mr. Fox strenuous in the House of Commons in favour of Ireland: opposed by Pitt and his colleagues: defeated by a majority of 136.—Dr. Duigenan assails the words of Pelham. £3,395,679 voted for support of the war against France.—Committees of United Irishmen, and their papers seized in Belfast.—Pelham proposed that a Secret Committee should examine the papers found with the United Irishmen: opposed strenuously by Grattan.—Acquittal of United prisoners at the Assizes of Armagh. A soldier who had been a witness, prosecuted for perjury.—General Lake adopts rigorous measures; the Northern Star. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.—Excesses committed by the Military: many inhabitants of Belfast maltreated. Arms surrendered throughout the North, under the proclamation of General Lake in 1797.

THE preparations of the French for a descent upon Ireland, had been spoken of throughout Great Britain and Ireland, during the whole of the autumn of 1796, with a familiarity that bred discredit in the people and neglect in the government. The character and efforts of Theobald Wolf Tone to effect the invasion of Ireland by troops from France, render it incumbent on the historian, to introduce here an interesting anecdote on that patriotic and ardent Irishman.

In May 1795, Theobald Wolf Tone proceeded to Belfast, and in June, sailed for America, together with his wife, his sister, and his children. In their passage out, the ship in which they were, was boarded by some British Cruisers, and the greater part of the passengers were impressed to serve on board his Majesty's ships of war which raged at that time between France and England. With difficulty Tone was permitted to remain on board with his family: after he arrived in New York, he was introduced to the French consul in that city, from whom he speedily obtained letters to the French government, whereas he was intent to sail for France in order to procure aid for his suffering country, Ireland. In January, 1796, T. W. Tone took his passage for France, leaving his wife and children in New York, whilst he in the mean time, might be actively

negotiating in France, for the ultimate freedom of his country.

Immediately after landing at Havre de Grace, he proceeded to Paris and became known to the French authorities, as a zealous Irishman, for the cause which he had embraced. Throughout his frequent interviews with the leader of the French councils, M. Tallyrand, repeated assurances with consent of their government were given to Tone, that an expedition on a large scale would be set on foot to invade Ireland. General Hoche \* who had been named as Commander-in-chief of the intended expedition, became a zealous friend to T. W. Tone and was ardent to forward his views regarding Ireland. Tone was appointed to a command in the army destined to invade it. He was at first nominated a colonel, and afterwards was advanced to the rank of Adjutant general.

The death of General Hoche took place in 1797 ; he was deeply bewailed by Tone and others from Ireland, who all panted for the liberation of their country from British tyranny and sway. It was believed, that the end of that young and illustrious French officer was contrived and effected by British Agency and influence. *To return to the expedition.* The fleet for the projected invasion, sailed from Brest on December 15th, 1796. It consisted of seventeen sail of the line, thirteen Frigates, fifteen Transports and Corvettes, having 15,000 troops on board well provided with all the necessary munitions of war † and an immense quantity of arms intended for the Irish, who (it was supposed) might swell the ranks of the enemy.

\*Hoche was the pacificator of La Vendee, which comprises the greater part of South-western France ; he is described in the memoirs of young Tone, "a very tall, handsome young man, when his father first saw him : " his manners were conciliating and affable : in the estimation of the army he commanded, Hoche was preferred to Buonaparte.

† There were 41,160 stand of arms, 20 pieces of field artillery, 9 of siege, including mortars, and howitzers ; 61,200 barrels of powder, 7,000,000 cartridges, 700,000 flints, no sabres nor pistols, but there were composing part of the expedition, three regiments of Hussars.

A bad omen accompanied the sailing of the Fleet ; a seventy-four gun ship having five hundred men on board, was totally lost the first night. After they had got clear out of Brest harbour, the Admiral, Morard de Galles and General Hoche, who were both in the same ship, were separated from the rest of the fleet by a storm. "It was singular," says Tone, "and perhaps the only one instance on record, that an admiral could not have kept with his fleet in moon-light nights." From the time of their sailing until the return of several of the ships to Brest, seventeen days had elapsed, and the *Fraternité*, in which the General and Admiral were, never appeared ; the other vessels of the fleet were occasionally in view of each other ; but the time of entering Bantry Bay, which opportunity continued for a day, being lost, 20 sail were driven to sea by the fury of the storm, and it became impossible for the remainder of the fleet to land their troops, which would be in that case, a force of 5,000 men.

Grouchy, second in command to Hoche, and T. W. Tone, were among that portion of the fleet which entered Bantry Bay, and after deliberating in a council of war, it was determined not to land. However T. W. Tone proposed to sail for the Shannon and make an attempt upon Limerick. This proposal, which evinced, under every hazard, a genuine desire to relieve his suffering country, was overruled by the majority of the council, and a signal was hoisted for the fleet to return to France. This subject on the expedition will be resumed.

The fortuitous failure of the French invasion furnished a strong test of the loyal disposition of the Irish people ; and gave rise to reports, that measures of conciliation towards Ireland had been resolved on by the British cabinet. Catholic emancipation and temperate reform were once more confidentially spoken of : and Lord Camden, whose administration was pledged to resist those two questions, it was generally expected, would immediately resign. These flattering prospects

were encouraged by a report, that the Prince of Wales had offered his services to the king to go to Ireland in quality of Lord Lieutenant, and to exert all his popularity with that nation, in restoring to it tranquillity. His Royal Highness had proposed to take with him Earl Moira as commander in chief, with a splendid establishment worthy of the dignity of the people whose royal sovereign he was to represent.

The prince had, at this time, entered cordially into the true political state of that kingdom ; and in order that no mistake might ever be pretended, relative to his Royal Highness's sentiments upon the Irish nation, he delivered a paper to the minister, drawn up in the most concise, energetic, and constitutional language, expressive of his disposition and judgment in favour of a system of conciliation. The British minister received the proposition with all the respect which the patriotism, virtuous judgment and discrimination of him who made it, merited. It was, for a time, the subject of a most important discussion : but the power of the Irish junto prevailed, the system of coercion preponderated : and the offer of the heir apparent to the crown to attempt the conciliation of the Irish people, was rejected. Both the British and Irish ministers appeared to dread the opportunity which Ireland would then have of testifying their predilection and admiration of that illustrious prince, and the occasion which such an appointment would afford to his Royal Highness of displaying his affection for the people of Ireland, in a mild system of measures, politic at all times, necessary at that time, and supereminently congenial with his disposition and sentiments.

Mr. Grattan, on the 17th of February 1797, introduced the question of Catholic emancipation. To his old arguments he added new light and strength. He discussed all our continental alliances, lost, gained, or retained, ridiculed the idea of popish tenets entering into the grounds of their formation or abandonment. He investigated the principles, pretext, and method of

raising an Irish Brigade of 6,000 Catholics, under Catholic and French officers. He calculated the numerical and physical advantages which the British army and navy received from Ireland; and concluded by moving the following resolution:\* "That the admissibility of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to seats in parliament, is consistent with the safety of the Crown and the connection of Great Britain with Ireland." The resolution was seconded by Mr. George Ponsonby. Mr. Knox, Sir B. Roche, Sir Frederick Flood, Sir Hercules Langrishe, and several other members who agreed with the principle of the resolution, voted against it, merely because they then thought it unseasonable to discuss the question.

Dr. Duigenan launched into a diffuse and infuriated philippic against popery, abused all his catholic countrymen, and treated Mr. Byrne and Mr. Kehoe as notorious traitors. The resolution was negatived by a majority of 124. This was the last time that Catholic emancipation was brought before the Irish parliament. In the debate upon a resolution moved by Sir L. Parsons for increasing the yeomanry to 50,000, better to secure the country against invasion, Mr. Pelham said, that in hearing the honorable baronet, he had fancied himself in one of the circles in Germany where different parties bid for the people? He assured the house, that were the French to come again, such measures had been concerted with Great Britain, that a large body of troops would, in a few hours, be in Ireland. That it was absurd to suppose, the British minister would not be interested for the safety of Ireland. Mr. Grattan replied to Mr. Pelham with great animation; "The English servant of the minister said, what would you have me bid for the people? He would say to that deputy of the English minister, if he would not bid for the people, he might go about his business. If he would not bid for the people, the monster of Democracy which had conquered Spain, Holland, Germany, and Italy by

\* 17, Parl. Deb. p. 80.

bidding for the people, would bid for the people of Ireland. The bidding of the minister would then come too late. He had asked, who could be more interested for the safety of Ireland than the British minister? He (Mr. G.) would answer, Ireland herself."

On the 21st of March, 1797. Earl Moira introduced his promised motion into the British house of peers, by a very instructive and eloquent speech : it became the more interesting, as that noble lord was known to have come recently from Ireland, so that his judgment could not be misled from seeing the real state of the kingdom, nor his candour and loyalty be suspected of misrepresenting it. After adverting to the delicacy of agitating questions, in which independent legislatures, and their respective rights and privileges were involved, he observed, that if it appeared, that the counsellors more immediately about his Majesty's person, had not given that advice which was calculated to insure the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, it was the duty of their lordships to approach the throne with advice more wise and salutary. But it might be said, what influence could such an address carry with it, to change the counsels by which Ireland was governed. To prove the influence of the British cabinet, he appealed to a recent fact, he meant the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam, at a time when all Ireland concurred in the measures which he pursued, when that country gave the fairest prospect of tranquillity, and the surest pledge of assistance and support to Britain, in the arduous circumstances in which she was placed. It was by temper, equity and good faith, that the distractions of the Irish were to be appeased, and their affections conciliated. No good could be expected from a prosecution of the present system. He was confident however, that the adoption of measures which he pursued and which were calculated to impress the people with confidence in government, would quickly call forth that fond affection of the inhabitants of Ireland to this country, which circumstances might cloud but could not extinguish : inspire that zeal so

necessary in the present moment ; and furnish those resources which were requisite for the critical situation in which the empire was placed, and the arduous contest in which it was engaged.

On such grounds he rested his motion, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying, that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to allay the discontents which at present subsist in his kingdom of Ireland, and which threaten the dearest interests of the British empire." Lord Grenville and the rest of the ministers vehemently opposed the motion. After a very interesting debate, the motion was rejected by 72 against 20. Two days after this discussion in the house of Peers, the subject was introduced into the house of Commons by Mr. Fox, in a speech which eminently displayed his liberality and constitutional information. He moved "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration, the disturbed state of his kingdom of Ireland, and to adopt such healing and lenient measures, as may appear to his majesty's wisdom, best calculated to restore tranquillity, and to conciliate the affections of all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects in that kingdom, to his Majesty's person and government. The motion was seconded by Sir Francis Burdett, and strongly opposed by Mr. Pitt and his party ; it was negatived by a majority of 136.

The proceedings in the British parliament relative to the state of Ireland, gave such offence to Dr. Duigenan, that on the 30th of March he gave notice, that after the recess he should bring forward a motion tending to refute the lying and malicious assertions made by Mr. Fox in the parliament of Great Britain. Some days after Mr. Secretary Pelham presented a message from his excellency, intimating the impossibility of raising the sum of £3,395,679 granted to his Majesty upon the terms mentioned in the resolutions of that house, on the 1st of March,\* and recommending such measures, as

\* 17. Parliamentary Debates, p. 463.

should be most prudent to carry the intention of that salutary resolution into effect. He also made to the house, some days after, a more important communication, "that two committees of United Irishmen, in Belfast, had been arrested and their papers seized, which contained matter of so much importance to the public welfare, that his excellency had directed them to be laid before the house of commons, for their consideration.\*

"That he should, in the mean time, pursue those measures which had received their sanction and approbation with unremitting vigour, and employ the force entrusted to him, in the most efficient manner for the protection of his Majesty's faithful subjects against all treasonable designs, and for bringing to condign punishment those who were endeavouring to overturn the constitution and betray Ireland into the hands of their enemies." Mr. Pelham now proposed to refer the papers to a committee of secrecy. Mr. Grattan would never agree to commit the people of Ireland to the mercy of a secret committee which would put their lives and fortunes into the hands of ministers, whose misconduct was the subject of general complaint in both countries, and whose measures whether parliamentary or military, tended equally to increase the calamities of the people. Mr. Pelham's motion for a secret committee was carried. The committee was ordered to consist of 15. An adjournment of some weeks took place to accommodate those members whose professional duties called them on the circuits. Armagh which had been for years the centre of religious acrimony, had by the progress of the union, lost a great part of its ferocity.

So little then was that bond of union considered treasonable, that at the Armagh assizes, when the spirit and tendency of it were brought before the court on the trial of Hanlon and Nogher, who were charged with having tendered an unlawful oath or engagement to become one of an unlawful, wicked, and seditious society, called *United Irishmen*, the prisoners were acquitted :

\* Ibid. p. 477.

the counsel not only defended, but commended the institution. The judge thought the obligation illegal under the late act of parliament. The failure of these two government prosecutions, and their backwardness in bringing any more to trial, afforded a triumph to the popular party in the rectitude or strength of their cause. When Mr. Pelham communicated the report of the secret committee to the house, on the 10th of May, which was ordered to be printed, he observed, that what had then transpired must convince every man, that it was not legislation which could be resorted to, to repress this daring and dark conspiracy, but those strong measures which the executive government had already adopted with the approbation of *this house*.

\* The committee observed, that the United Irishmen made a pretext of reform and emancipation to cover a design to subvert instead of amending the constitution, to confiscate property and extinguish the possessors of it, and this they inferred from those two objects not having been mentioned in the papers, as the end of their institution.† In corroboration of which opinion, they transcribed a paper called the Donaghadee resolutions, in which it was emphatically stated, “to have been the opinion of the best statesmen, philosophers, and divines, that all power originated with the people; that when tyrants usurp power, or governors legitimately constituted degenerate into tyrants, it becomes the right and the duty of the people to take up arms,

\* 17. Parl. Deb. p. 522. “Such a report was to be expected from the persons who composed that committee.” Plowden, Vol. II. p. 395.

† The names of the committee sufficiently indicate, from their characters in ‘98,” particularly J. C. Beresford &c., the source from which Secretary Pelham derived his surmises, &c., on the united system. *They* (the committee) were Mr. Pelham, Mr. D. Latouche, Mr. Ogle, Mr. J. C. Beresford, Mr. J. Stewart, Mr. J. Foster, Mr. Commissioner Beresford, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Prime Sergeant, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Alexander, Mr. D. Browne, Lord Boyle.

to wrest that power from the hands which abuse it, and restore it to those, to whom it of right belongs." \*

From the conduct and language of Mr. Secretary Pelham, the conclusion come to by the secret committee whose names have been given in a subjoined note, and the unavailing efforts of a few patriotic members to urge on the ministry, the necessity of Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform; Ireland became alarmed and convulsed, first by the rigorous measures pursued and adopted by the commander of the forces, General Lake; all these things were hatched and matured by Pitt and his colleagues, to accomplish at length their terrible purposes of the *Union*. G. Lake's proclamation in the northern districts, to disarm the people of the north, furnished cause and pretext for military excesses, which though great, sanguinary and cruel, were a mere prelude to the awful disasters of the following year "1798." The newspaper called the Northern Star, published at Belfast, was the only journal into which publications concerning liberty, could find their way. The proprietors of it had been committed to New-gate under the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act.

The person who then conducted the paper, having been required, refused to insert in it a paragraph reflecting on the loyalty of the people of Belfast: the next morning a detachment of the military issued from the barracks, attacked the printing office and utterly demolished every vestige of it. Other outrages were committed by the military on the inhabitants of Belfast: the house of Cunningham Gregg, Esq., was destroyed with impunity, and without pretext or pro-

\* Of twenty-eight United Irishmen then in jail in Armagh, *i.e.* Hanlon and Nogher, two trials only were brought forward. In one of them a soldier, suborned to prosecute Dogherty, was, upon his acquittal, put into the dock in his place, to abide his trial for perjury. The grand jury found a bill against him, and he remained in custody to take his trial. Mr. Curran said, in defence of the united Irishmen, that he was delighted to find, after so many of them had been immured in dungeons, without trial, that at length the subject had come fairly before the world, and instead of its being a system of organised treason and murder, it proved to be a great bond of national union, founded upon the most acknowledged principles of law, and every sacred obligation due to our country and our Creator.

vocation. The effects produced by the proclamation of General Lake were an immediate surrender of arms in every county of the North, and a cessation of the secret meetings of the United Irishmen; however, emissaries were actively diffusing the system of union and an oath of secrecy in most of the other counties of the kingdom.

The French directory had given repeated assurances to Theobald Wolfe Tone and others, that they would make and renew their attempt at the invasion of Ireland, which had so signally failed through the perfidy of the French Admiral in whose ship the ever to be lamented General Hoche had sailed. This young Frenchman has been lauded by the writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone's son, as surpassing all praise, and intensely sanguine on the conquest of Ireland. It is obvious to all who have read the memoirs of Tone, that perfidy prevailed in the French counsels, and that the English government had their spies in Paris, counteracting by bribery all the attempts of Irishmen with the ruling authorities of France.

### CHAPTER XIII.

O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin. Their names betrayed to the English government. Appeal for French aid in 1797; the number of men and munitions of war required.—An emissary from France meets Lord Edward in London. Preparations made by France to invade Ireland. The Dutch fleet. The disarming of the North disheartened Ulster.—The counties of Leinster propagate the United system. An interesting scene at Athy: trials of O'Brien, and Kelly. Lord Edward.—Leading names implicated. Fabrication of pikes &c. Arms stolen by night contrary to United orders. Military organisation.—Arms for a corps of Yeomen taken in the night, by a party of Athy men. Flogging and pitch-caps introduced. Free quarters. Officers appointed to command the United men.—Tom Reynolds the informer. Provincial meeting of the United Irishmen. Reynolds and Lord Edward. Kilkea Castle.—Henry Grattan, and Lord Edward. The representation of Dublin. A grant of £20,000, to build a R. C. College at Maynooth. Right Rev. Doctor Hussey, of Waterford.—Suppression of the Northern Star: a newspaper called the Press, started in Dublin. Arthur O'Connor avows himself the Editor. The Executive directory.—O'Connor, Binns, Allen, and a Rev. Mr. Quigley, arrested at Margate: Rev. Mr. Quigley (the others being tried and acquitted,) was convicted and executed.—Sir Laurence

Parsons moves for a reform. General Sir Ralph Abercrombie: March 5th, 1798, the army licentious and insubordinate. Secretary Pelham—the soldiery. Abercrombie resigns—Lord Castlereagh—attempt at invasion, 1796. The fatalities that menaced the British troops. General Lake: his measures of coercion. Theobald Wolfe Tone. The French General Kilmaine.—Buonaparte's reply to T. W. Tone. Preparations in the Texel to invade Ireland. Defeat of the French and Dutch by Duncan. Lord Edward Fitzgerald—his education; his step-father Mr. Ogilvie.—Lord Edward enters the army: his knowledge in mathematics is displayed in directing an encampment. Battle with the Americans commanded by General Greene. Lord E. in Paris, falls in love with Pamela, daughter of the Duke of Orleans.—Lord E. obtains her in marriage, and returns to Ireland; he selects a residence near Kildare; Kilrush his estate.—Kildare county, prominent in preparing for insurrection.

MESSRS. O'Connor, Emmet, and M'Nevin, tell us in their memoir (p. 21) that they were as if petrified to see on the table, where they had been examined, their handwriting to the French Directory, in which they sought the assistance of that people to rescue Ireland from the iron grasp and tyranny of England: this speaks volumes, that Ireland had been bought and sold by British gold.\* The strongest incentive to instant invasion, was the oppression and tyranny of the Irish Government. The first application for French assistance consisted in a demand for ten thousand men, and not less than five, with arms for 45,000, a proportionate supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, experienced officers, &c. A greater quantity of arms was subsequently solicited, in consequence of the increasing numbers and disarming of the North.

A confidential person was sent by France to collect information respecting the state of Ireland. He was met in London by Lord Edward Fitzgerald. In consequence of their communications, the French Directory ordered great preparations both on the Texel and at Brest for the invasion of Ireland; and that in the beginning of October, the arrival of the French, it was announced to the societies of United Irishmen, would

\* Aurum per medios ire satellites, et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius ictu fulmines.—Hor. epodes.

*Translated.*—Gold penetrates through guards, and bursts through rocks, more powerful than the stroke of thunder.

immediately take place. The troops had been already embarked, commanded by General Daendells, and immediately afterwards disembarked. The Dutch fleet had been, contrary to the opinion of their admiral, ordered to put to sea; this led to the victory of Camperdowne gained by Lord Duncan.

The proclamation of General Lake, May 12th, 1797, produced its effects speedily upon the minds of the Northerns; arms were given up, many Presbyterians and Protestants, who had been well organised and armed the preceding year, and ready to join the ranks of the French, had they landed in Bantry Bay, where part of their expedition arrived in the month of December 1796; this failure operated powerfully on the Northerns, and almost ruined the hopes and projects of the United Irishmen throughout that province. In the counties of Kildare, Queen's and Tipperary, the spirit of that system was widely and actively diffusing itself; most of the farming classes, particularly the young men amongst them, were ardent and determined to work out their separation from England, and had sent into Connaught and Munster, active agents to dissuade the people from following the example of the men of Ulster, who had been terrified by the threats of General Lake, under Camden's administration: at the summer assizes of Kildare, 1797, held at Athy, an interesting trial occurred in the criminal court, at which Lord Norbury presided. Two very respectable young men named John O'Brien and Thomas Kelly,\* who had been very active in the town of Monasterevan, in propagating the united principles, and were sworn against by the brother of Mr. John Cassidy, distiller, O'Brien having lived with him in the capacity of clerk, and Kelly being a respectable shopkeeper; after a trial of many hours, and the confinement for a night in the

\* Mr. Joseph Kelly, timber merchant in Francis-street, Dublin, is son to the above Mr. Kelly, who had been a very respectable shop-keeper in that town at the time of his arrest, and subsequently, he and O'Brien were sterling patriots and actively advanced the United cause.

jury-room, no decision being come to by the jurors, his lordship on the bench ordered, that the jury should proceed to the borders of the Queen's County, and be there dismissed ; the law required that these dissentient men should be carried in turf kishes and there discharged. Lord Edward Fitzgerald spent the days during the trials at Athy, and accompanied this novel cavalcade ; his principles were altogether with the people.

Throughout the county of Kildare, several of the higher classes warmly espoused the cause for which O'Brien and T. Kelly of Monasterevan, had been tried but not found guilty ; an unlimited confidence in Lord Edward's principles were the topics to which the labouring classes attached sanguine hopes of success, and seeing Colonel Lumb, Mr. Henry of Straffan, Flood, T. M. Reynolds of Johnstown, and many very influential names warmly but secretly recommending an attachment to the efforts of propagating an universal abhorrence of the measures pursued by government : the Kildare men were found by their leaders ready to act at the very beck of their officers.

In the Autumn of " '97 " a military organisation was commenced, and colonels, captains, lieutenants, and sergeants were secretly appointed and known to all the members of their own body. The fabrication of pikes and manufacturing pike-handles were universally recommended : the taking of arms by night was strictly forbidden at the provincial, county and baronial meetings, notwithstanding which, an occurrence took place at Athy, about the time that the precautions were issued from headquarters, usually called the *directory* of the United Irishmen. A corps of yeomen infantry had been raised at Leighlin-bridge, county Carlow, and arms (50 stand) were forwarded by the Grand Canal, and being arrived at Athy, the men of the town carried away all by night and hid them in the neighbouring bogs. This news created great alarm to the Castle of Dublin, and was a primary cause of the barony of Narragh, and Rheban to

be proclaimed, the Spring following, under martial law and free quarters : of this horrible system of plunder, burning houses, flogging and pitch-caps, we shall give ample details in the succeeding pages on the rebellion.

Throughout the autumn of 1797, the counties of Kildare, Queen's Co., Carlow and Wicklow, were active and persevering in organising their respective baronies into military districts ; every twelve men appointed a sergeant, eight sergeants a captain and lieutenant, and eight captains a colonel : these head officers met by appointment of the county delegates and nominated an adjutant general : the frequent interviews which Lord Edward Fitzgerald, then residing in the vicinity of Kildare town, afforded to the young men of that county, excited an ardent spirit among the agricultural classes to unite themselves with the noble patriot L. E. F. in the project of separating Ireland from England for ever. The grand informer who secretly started against the United Irishmen, Thomas Reynolds,\* was, unfortunately for his country, particularly well known to that nobleman, and from his having been the nephew of Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, near Athy, who was collaterally allied to the Leinster family, Reynolds and Lord Edward stood upon a footing of intimacy : the arch-informer so wormed himself into the opinion of that nobleman, that during the winter season of that year, he was introduced to the county delegates of Kildare, and was eventually from being their treasurer, delegated by the Kildare men to represent them at the provincial meeting held in Dublin, in the March following : to ingratiate himself firmly with the united men of the barony of Kilkea and Moon, he had pikes and pike-handles manufactured largely at his residence of Kilkea-castle, rented as a farm of 200 acres held under the Duke of Leinster : independently of his being appointed to meet the provincial delegates in March, he was elected colonel of the barony.

\* *Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum* — Virgil.  
*Translated.*—A horrible, deformed, and huge monster, in whom *reason* was extinct. P. O'K.

In the new parliament which assembled in January " '98," few sterling representatives of the people were to be found : Mr. Grattan and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, both declined to be candidates, in the recent elections, for the representation of Dublin, seeing that all efforts in favour of their country, during the sessions of some years preceding, proved abortive, the British influence, with the aid of gold and titles, predominated and carried every measure. In the month of February ' '98' a motion was made in the house of Commons for a grant of £20,000 to the R. C. College of Maynooth ; this was violently opposed by Dr. Duigenan, who entered into a tirade of abuse against the Rt. Rev. Dr. Hussey the catholic bishop of Waterford. This venerable prelate published in the preceding year, a pastoral address to his clergy, exhorting them to attend to their spiritual duties and to combat strenuously the efforts of all proselytising attempts upon their flocks. The catholic soldiers, frequently tampered with by prejudiced officers, caught the peculiar regard and attention of the venerable bishop of Waterford.

The affairs and hopes of the United Irishmen had been extensively impeded by the suppression of the Northern-star newspaper in Belfast ; to remedy the insult and injury done to their cause, the united men of Dublin started another as a substitute, under the name of the Press. The house of commons moved for the demolition of this *paper* likewise, but the brave Arthur O'Connor, to counteract so mischievous a design, declared himself its proprietor and editor. The chief guidance for the intentions of the United Irishmen over the kingdom, centered in their secret council, called the Executive Directory, and this body at that time consisted of Messrs. O'Connor, Oliver Bond, Dr. M'Nevin, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Counsellor Emmett. In the early part of " '98" Mr. Arthur O'Connor went to England, with the intention of proceeding to France, and was accompanied by a Mr. Binns of London, a Mr. Allen of Dublin, and a catholic Irish priest named Quigley : these

gentlemen proceeded to Margate, in Kent, where they intended to hire a vessel to convey them to France; here the whole four were arrested, and transmitted to the gaol of Maidstone: at the spring assizes of that year, they were tried and acquitted, with the exception of the Rev. Mr. Quigley, on whom a paper correspondence between England and France having been found, was deemed by Government tantamount to his condemnation, and was brought to the block, an early martyr to the United cause.

March 5th, 1798, Sir Laurence Parsons moved in the house of Commons, for a committee to enquire into the state of the country, and to suggest measures to restore peace and tranquillity to the people: the debate lasted a whole night, till 5 o'clock in the morning; but by an overwhelming majority the motion was lost. Sir Ralph Abercrombie was now appointed commander of the forces; he knew well the duties without debasing the character of the soldier: soon after his arrival, he found himself under the necessity of publishing in general orders,\* that the army was in a state of licentiousness, which rendered it formidable to every one, but the enemy. The liberal and genuine spirit of the British soldier, so prominent on the face of these orders, was repugnant to the coercive system of the Irish ministry. The inflexible firmness of that gallant veteran was not to be subdued by extortion, fear or adulation. Corrupt influence being the order that prevailed, he was forced to resign. The effect of a principal part of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's orders, was defeated by a letter of Secretary Pelham, to the army and soldiers, encouraging them to proceed without further orders, against all persons suspected of disloyalty and having arms in their possession.

The chiefs among the united Irishmen, were, about this time, ardently expecting succours from France, which, it was promised to them, would arrive in the month of April of that year. Messrs. O'Connor, McNevin and

\* This order is to be found in Hist. Review, vol. ii. p. 663.

Emmett, have observed in their memoir,\* that the French never would abandon the plan of separating Ireland from England, so long as the discontent of the people would induce them to support an invasion. The resignation of General Abercrombie was the fatal moment of renovating and extending the reign of terror. Mr. Pelham reluctantly resigned his situation from ill health, and was succeeded by Lord Castlereagh, who brought with him into office no less ardour than his predecessor for their system of terror and persecution.

Regarding the expedition of "'96," in December, it is noticed, that the army was by no means in a condition to repel an enemy landing with a sufficient force: 9th shot had been through error forwarded from Dublin for guns of 6th calibre; the marching of the troops from the interior was greatly impeded by the state of the weather which was then wet, and a dissatisfied peasantry in every county from Dublin to Bantry bay, would joyfully contribute their aid to the enemy by withholding any succour from the British troops. To the storm therefore, and fatality of the French admiral's ship having separated from the fleet, the safety of the Irish government and the king's troops can with truth be attributed.

Throughout the year "'97" General Lake who had succeeded General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, threatened the Northerns with the horrors of military despotism and rule, and by his proclamation, also by the marching and countermarching of dragoons, and by the arrest of several leaders among the United Irishmen, so dispirited the Ulster men who had been ready and organized to co-operate with an invading army from France, as expected, during the preceding year, that an indifference for the success of the united cause became manifest in all the counties of the North. Theobald Wolfe Tone, notwithstanding the failure of the expedition to Bantry bay, was indefatigable in urging the French to make a new attempt upon Ireland. General Kilmaine, who was an Irishman and had distinguished himself in

\* Memoir, 23.

some of the campaigns in Italy, was applied to by Tone to interfere on behalf of suffering Ireland. Buonaparte likewise on the eve of his departure with the French expedition to Egypt, and immediately before the Irish rebellion burst forth, was applied to by Tone. The reply of Buonaparte who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the French destined for Egypt, was laconic and discouraging : he said to Tone, you have but two millions instead of four : during this great man's exile at St. Helena, he was often heard to regret, that by neglecting Ireland he had lost himself.

The executive directories of France and Holland, resolved to renew their attempt upon Ireland, and accordingly made preparations (1797), in the Texel for that object : 15,000 troops had been already embarked, and continued on board, waiting for orders to sail. Belfast, 'twas intended, should be the place for the troops to disembark ; the admiral of the fleet had received his orders, but it was enjoined him, to fight the English Admiral Duncan, who had been dispatched to counteract the designs of the French and Dutch. A defeat of the enemy followed, and accordingly the troops for the expedition were disembarked.

Among the names with which the reader is to be made acquainted on the affairs of "'98," Lord Edward's makes a distinguishing feature : it is, therefore, necessary to introduce in this place, the mention of him before we begin our detail of the occurrences of that eventful year.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald was fifth son of the grandfather of the present Duke of Leinster, being but ten years old when his father died. He still continued with the duchess his mother, who married a Mr. Ogilvie, a scotch gentleman, and they after passing some time in England, proceeded to Rome, to reside for a while on the continent. His first preceptor was a Mr. Lynch, an Irishman ; soon after this, his step-father commenced to instruct him ; his chief studies were mathematics,\*

\* *Doctrina vim promovet insitam, rectique cultus pectora roborant. Hor.*  
*Translated*—Learning advances the innate capability, and fit instructions strengthen the understanding.

as preparatory to a military life. Lord Edward displayed much talent and taste for fortification.

After Mr. O'G. and the duchess had returned to England, Lord E. received an appointment as a lieutenant in the militia regiment commanded by his maternal uncle the Duke of Richmond. Orders being given that the regiment should go to camp, it was found that this young nobleman, from his previous studies of the military art, was capable of guiding both officers and men in their mode of encampment. After some time he received the commission of Captain in a regiment ordered to America, to reinforce the British army already fighting there against the people of the now United States : it was his lot, soon after his arrival, to distinguish himself in a retreat from Monk's corner, and by his skill to save the army from discomfiture and disgrace. In consequence of that happy event, Lord E. became noticed by Lord Rawdon then in command, who was afterwards Lord Moira of illustrious memory and patriotism : our young Irish nobleman was promoted to the rank of aid-de-camp. Very soon afterwards he was ordered to the *Eutaw Springs*, where, in a battle fought with General Greene who commanded the American force, he received a wound in the thigh of so serious a kind that he lay senseless on the field, until carried off by a negro man named Tony, whom his lordship, on account of his fidelity and attention, took into his service : this battle had been of such a character, that both on the American and the British side, no officer escaped without a wound.

In a letter to his mother Lord Edward describes a long and fatiguing journey of 175 miles, which he, a brother officer, two woodmen and the faithful Tony undertook and performed from New Brunswick to Quebec, through a thick and immeasurable forest. The snow was four feet deep : each man carried his provision, his blanket, axe and firematches. They were twenty days steering a N. West course by compass as if at sea. On their gaining the place of destination they found themselves within ten miles of the city, where, upon their

entrance, admission into a public house was refused them from the extraordinary appearance which they made, viz., having a blanket for a coat, their trousers patched, and their beards unshaven for twenty days; Lord Edward said to the landlady, "we are gentlemen." "I'm sure you are," she replied, turning away from them.

In 1792 Lord Edward visited Paris, where he became particularly devoted to the cause of France, then triumphant over her enemies. The same year, assisting at a dinner given by the French, Germans and English, for the victories obtained over their enemies, Lord E. gave the following toast, "the speedy abolition of all hereditary titles and feudal distinctions." On the same occasion a General Dillon of the Irish Brigade toasted "The people of Ireland, and may government profit by the example of France, and reform prevent a revolution."

In the same year Lord Edward became enamoured with the beautiful Pamela,\* who, though living with Madame de Genlis under the disguised name of Miss Sims, she is at present known to have been her daughter by the Duke de Orleans, late king of the French: he assisted at the ceremony of her marriage, which took place at Tournay, a town of French Flanders; at that time the Duke de Orleans was residing in Switzerland: he gave instructions to youth in an academy which he undertook for his support; he, and other members of the Bourbon family, were then living in exile.

After Lord Edward's return to Ireland, being then married, he was chiefly occupied in making arrangements

*Benè Anacreon.* \* Καλεπον ἴο μη φιλησαι  
Καλεπον δη και φιλησαι,  
Καλεπώτερον δη παίων,  
Απούσχανειν φιληνία.

*Latine.* Durum est non amare  
Durum est etiam amare,  
Durissimum vero est,  
Non frui re amatà

*Translated.* It is difficult not to love,  
It is difficult also to love,  
But the most difficult of all is,  
Not to enjoy the object beloved.

for his lady's comforts, in selecting a fit residence &c., and Kildare town where he obtained a cottage, being contiguous to Kilrush his estate, furnished him with the opportunity of exercising economy in his expenditure and of enjoying the pleasures which the Curragh afforded. His fortune, though very limited (being about £800 a year) was well paid by his tenantry who were respectable and independent land-holders. The quality of the soil, and goodness of the proprietor, enabled these industrious farmers to become rich, and therefore it happened, that the landlord and tenant were mutually content and independent. In the correspondence which Lord Edward kept up (while campaigning in America) with his mother and Mr. Ogilvie, he frequently alludes to the fine forests with which that country abounds and expresses a wish that some of them were upon Kilrush.

On the first establishment of the United system, it is not understood, that Lord Edward acted as a member of the body. In "'95," however, when Earl Fitzwilliam had been recalled from the government of the country, and that Camden was chosen and sent to rule Ireland, then it can be justly said, that Lord Edward burned with a fire for freedom, and devoted himself solely to the attainment of the people's rights. In "'97" the system of the United Irishmen was fast approaching to its crisis, and in no county of Ireland, were the people so much alive to all the purposes of propagating their cause, and organising themselves, as in the county of Kildare. An intimacy subsisted between numberless families residing on his brother the Duke's estate, (which contained an extent of 100,000 acres) and this patriotic nobleman ; he was then deep in the designs of the leaders of the United cause ; and was always accessible to the young farmers who were zealous to be deemed instruments of his formation, and preparing for the struggle which was approaching to maturity.

## CHAPTER XIV.

A Deputation from Ulster; urging Leinster to insurrection. An encampment at Loughlinstown. Proposal to attack the castle and barracks.—Reynolds and Cooke. Provincial meeting at Bond's. Major Sirr. Signal for admission. Arrest of delegates.—Wavering of the United Irishmen. Pitt intent upon the Union. Lord Castle-reagh, Reynolds, Daly, and Kenna.—Large reward offered for arrest of Lord E.—Places of concealment. Precautions to escape.—Murphy, feather merchant. Moore, iron-monger. May 19th, fatal to Lord Edward.—Neilson, suspicion attached to him. Major Sirr, Swan, and Ryan, assail Lord E. Opposition. Ryan wounded.—A deadly struggle. Major Sirr. Soldiers hurry Lord E. to Prison.—Night of his death. Clinch hanged. Lady Fitzgerald condemned to quit British realms.—Free quarters. Athy the first scene. Peter Kelly. Property carried off: furniture burned. Mr. Fitzgerald; Captain Erskine.—Affinity of Fitzgerald and Reynolds. Character of the latter. Athy Cavalry, Colonel Campbell.—Alarm of the United Irishmen. Leaders assembled in Dublin. Delusive hopes from France.—Expedition in Toulon. Egypt. King's county Militia. Captain Armstrong. Counsellor Sheareses. Sir Jonah Barrington.—The troops at Loughlinstown. M'Cann; the Privy Council proposed pardon.—Character of M'Cann; his reply to government.

A deputation from the Executive Directory of Ulster arrived in Dublin, during the summer of that year, and made a proposal to the Leinster Executive, not to await the arrival of the French, urging that as the winds had saved England from losing Ireland, so the same might happen again: a part of the Leinster men were opposed to delay, but the greater number prevailed, who were then sanguine in hoping, that France would renew the attempt at invasion. During the interval of '97 in the summer months, disaffection took deep hold among some regiments of Irish militia encamped at Loughlinstown, Co. Dublin. It was proposed by some among them, to seize the barracks and the castle without a citizen: the refusal of acceding to the overture was deeply regretted by Lord Edward.

Tom Reynolds the notorious informer of "98," was pointed out, in an evil hour, by Lord Edward, to Kenna of Birtown, to be worthy the confidence of the United men of the barony of Kilkea and Moon. The castle

farm of Kilkea was let to him by the Duke of Leinster's agent: In that old mansion the castle,\* this man of notoriety was residing, and being the nephew of Mr. T. Fitzgerald of Geraldine, Athy, the people were influenced through Kenna, to nominate him to a baronial meeting, and from thence to the Kildare county meeting, where he received an appointment to the provincial: from these quick gradations, all the mysteries of the advocates for shaking off the yoke of England, became known to Reynolds, who had plotted already with under-secretary Cooke, the betraying of the United system and its abettors. The first sum he received from government, for his flagrant perfidy, was 3,500 guineas.† After having been active and energetic in the fabrication of pikes and pike-handles, at his residence, Kilkea castle, during the winter of '97, he informed his employers Castlereagh and Cooke, that a provincial meeting was to be held in the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, Bridge-street:‡ to this ominous spot, where the greater portion of delegates from various counties of Leinster had been expected to assemble, about 11 o'clock A.M., Major Sirr accompanied by 12 sergeants in coloured clothes, had arrived, and being put in possession of the signal for admission, viz.: "is Ivers from Carlow come," an immediate arrest of those already there, was effected. An attempt by one among them, to conceal some papers that were on the table being made, one of the Major's party exclaimed, "I will shoot any of you that conceal any matter here;" the prisoners were speedily marched from hence to the castle: Dr. M'Nevin, Counsellor Emmett, Sweetman, Bond, Jackson and son, Kelly from Rosanallis, Queen's Co., and Banan from Ballybrettas, were now in custody.

The consternation caused to the United men through-

\* On the top of this castle, O'Kelly of Luggacurn was beheaded by the 11th Earl of Kildare, who obtained his estates from Queen Elizabeth, in the 21st year of her reign. Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy. :

† Aurum per medios ire satellites et perrumpere aniat saxa, potentius ictu fulmineo.—Hor. *Translated*. Gold penetrates through the midst of guards, more powerful than thunder.

‡ 279. Pares cum paribus facillime congregantur.—Cic. i.e. Vulgo. Birds of a feather flock together.

out the kingdom, and the alarm spreading rapidly among all ranks, the confidence of the people in their leaders became wavering and almost extinct. On the 12th March, 1798, this triumph of Reynolds over his too confiding countrymen was complete. The wily minister of England, Mr. Pitt, calculated on these occurrences as so many stepping stones to accomplish his long wished for measure of the Union : civil war was then the only thing needed to mature and perfect the scheme set on foot by him and the ill-fated\* Lord Castlereagh.

No effort was spared by Reynolds to wipe off the stigma now affixed to him, whereas a rumour prevailed that he was the person who gave information to Government which led to the arrest at Bond's. He took the early precaution to remove from the mind of Mr. M'Cann the supposition that he would betray his countrymen, and accordingly wrote to him requesting, that he would hold him excused for not attending the meeting of delegates on the 12th of March : his communication was of a forcible tenor : he declared in it, that it gave him pain to have been prevented from attending by a sudden and peculiar indisposition of Mrs. Reynolds in Park street.

A few days had elapsed after the arrest had taken place at Bond's, when a county *Kildare* meeting was held at McDonald's hotel, Naas, where it was strongly debated by Kenna and Daly of Kilcullen, that Reynolds could not be the betrayer of his country and her people, on account of the intimacy that subsisted between him and his noble friend Lord Edward : these arguments were combated by M. Reynolds of Johnstown, and so confirmed was he in his suspicions of his having been the traitor, that he intended to assassinate him in the yard of the hotel. Immediately after this Reynolds began to withdraw from all intercourse with the United

\* The suicide of this treacherous Irishman, the inventor of every species of torture, free quarters for the soldiery, the pitch cap, flogging, burning houses, &c. &c., should excite fear to the tyrant that a Just Providence will retaliate in due season. Lord Castlereagh cut his throat with a penknife.

Irishmen, and plotted with the hacks of the Castle to avow his intentions of aiding the Government party against the people.

We will now return to Lord Edward, in order to prepare for the sorrowful end of that nobleman, and the tragic scenes of insurrection which followed in quick succession. After the arrest at Bond's, being obliged to submit to the privations incident to a state of concealment, and knowing that the intentions of government to arrest him would be soon carried into effect, by the large reward of £1000, Lord Edward avoided to be known but to few ; from Aungier street, where he was secreted at the house of a Mr. Kennedy, his few confidants placed him with a widow lady on the banks of the canal : his kind hostess was suddenly alarmed by the appearance of some military on the opposite banks : she ran up stairs to her noble lodger, got him to turn into bed, and putting on a lady's cap, she was prepared to tell to the soldiers, if they had entered, that the lady was every moment hoping to be well after her accouchement. The military, however, passed on without entering. From this place of concealment he was removed to Thomas street, to the house of a Mr. Moore, iron-merchant ; and from Moore's to Murphy's, feather-merchant.

The fatal day had now just arrived, when Lord Edward was to be a victim to the cause he had so zealously and perseveringly espoused. On the day or two preceding his arrest a military uniform was put into the hands of Murphy by a servant from Moore's. The coat, jacket and trousers were of dark green cloth, edged with red, and a cap of a conical form : these matters were carefully hidden, by Lord Edward's own orders to Murphy, and put among a heap of goat skins, on a store loft. On May 18th Lord Edward was accompanied by Mrs. Moore to the house of Murphy, which was the eve of his arrest, and five days before the insurrection broke out.\*

May 19th, " '98," proved fatal both to Lord Edward

\* O'Kelly's History of '98.

and to the cause of the United system. On him were fixed the hopes of the United Irishmen ; and although strong measures were adopted by Government to counteract the conspiracy and its abettors, had Lord Edward escaped, the issue of the struggle between the authorities and the people would have been extremely hazardous and doubtful.

On this memorable day he dined in the back drawing-room at Murphy's, together with Neilson\* and his host ; very soon after dinner Neilson left him, and in the act of leaving the house very incautiously left the hall door open, as if to admit others or re-enter it himself. Lord Edward retired to his bed room immediately after Neilson had gone away, and laid himself upon the bed, to repose a little without his coat. Murphy proceeded up stairs to see if he would take some coffee, and while thus speaking with his Lordship, Town Major Sirr, Swan and a Mr. Ryan who is said to have been captain of the guard they had brought with them, arrived. It appears that they had no difficulty to enter the house, whereas the door was still open since Neilson had gone. Swan and Ryan proceeded instantly up stairs, while Major Sirr remained for a little while below, as if to give the guard directions how to act.

Swan and Ryan were soon in the bedroom of Lord Edward who, on seeing them enter, seized a dagger he had with him, and rushing furiously as a tiger, according to Murphy's words, he stabbed each of them, and inflicted a mortal wound on Ryan, who fell upon the floor. Swan discharged a pistol which he held in his hand, at Lord Edward, but without effect. After firing he pushed the pistol to Murphy's face, and cried out to a soldier, "take this fellow away." From the noise of the shot which was fired, Major Sirr hurried up stairs, and

\* Some suspicions of a sinister and dishonourable complexion have been affixed to the character of Neilson, for such apparent neglect in subjecting the house to be entered by an enemy. The facility with which he was arrested (as will appear) casts another shade of suspicion upon Neilson's fidelity to the united cause ; it is for the reader to make his own inference.

arriving at the door where the murderous struggle was going on, fired at Lord Edward and wounded him in the arm near the shoulder. A drummer who ran up with Major Sirr, struck his Lordship with his sword upon the back of the neck, which caused him much agony during the few days he lived. Other soldiers running up to the call of Major Sirr, placed their muskets across him and overcame any further efforts of Lord Edward. Having now secured their prisoner, they placed him in a sedan chair and proceeded with him to the castle.

Surgeon Adrien was called in to dress their wounds ; he pronounced those of Ryan to be mortal, Swan's not so bad, and Lord Edward's the same ; " I'm sorry for it," replied his Lordship." Immediately after this, he was sent to Newgate, where he suffered under fever and mental derangement. Liberty to visit him was denied to his friends, except to Lord Henry, who was permitted to see him on the eve of his dissolution. On the night of the 4th June, at two in the morning he expired. His sufferings were acute, during the interval between his arrest and death : his pain of mind was much increased in consequence of the death of a Mr. Clinch\* who, as Lord Henry mentioned, in a letter of reproach to the Lord Lieutenant, on the ignominy of his brother's fate and the treatment he received, was hanged in the corridore opposite to where Lord Edward lay.

The fate of Lady Edward Fitzgerald, his amiable and lovely consort, must excite pity in every breast. She loved her Lord, as he merited, with devotedness and genuine affection. After her noble husband's sufferings and demise, Lady Edward became doomed to withdraw herself from the British realms. She was pronounced to have participated in every one of his designs and acts, and consequently was commanded to quit almost instantaneously, Great Britain, and his own dear Ireland.

Early in April, "'98," the free quarters commenced in Athy, and throughout the adjoining districts of Kildare

\* Clinch was a respectable gentleman of Rathcoole, and most respectably connected.

county. It would appear that the whole country was destined to destruction ; every respectable farm-house which a licentious military banditti met with in their daily excursions, was entered, with the exception of those known to be belonging to (as they termed them) loyal protestants ; all parts and house presses were searched for papers, and if any touching on the united men's cause were found, the premises, dwelling and all were set fire to ; bacon, butter, and meal, were carried off by the soldiery. All the live-stock consisting of pigs, sheep and bullocks, were driven to the town and kept for the use of the soldiers and their wives. One or two examples of suffering will suffice for all. Peter Kelly, an extensive shop-keeper, was the first of the Athy victims : having been pointed out by the informer Reynolds, who was marched to Athy gaol by Captain Greene, miller : "there," said he, "in that house, viz. Kelly's, I was appointed Colonel."

After the lapse of about an hour, a number of soldiers headed by their officer and accompanied by the magistrate Greene, who arrested Kelly, came to plunder and carry off all his effects : the value of the goods seized was about £2,000 : his furniture was brought into the street and burned ; a piece of cannon demolished Kelly's house windows : utter ruin to him and a young family followed in quick succession : other houses similarly engaged in trade, were similarly treated.

Mr. Fitzgerald of Geraldine, had Captain Erskine of the buff dragoons and an entire company living on him at free quarters : himself was arrested and kept prisoner in his own house : his fat sheep and some stall fed cows, were driven to the barracks and eaten by the soldiers.

This Mr. Fitzgerald was uncle to the informer Reynolds ; and his popularity and being captain of the Athy corps of yeomen cavalry raised during the attempt at invasion by the French in December '96, added greatly to the influence that man of treachery and blood possessed over the United men of Kilkea and Moon ; Mr. F. was and may be deemed entirely clear of the designs

of his nephew : this notorious character was looked upon by many of his blood-relatives, to have poisoned his own mother. On the eve of the insurrection, the above corps was ignominiously disarmed by orders of Colonel Campbell, military commander at Athy.

From the moment of Lord Edward's tragical arrest, an universal gloom was spread through all the ranks of the United men in Dublin : the news soon reached the adjoining counties, and was speedily spread over the whole kingdom. Those who were at the head of the system, and acting as an executive committee, were fixed in their resolutions, to rouse the people into action and resort to open force. Some of the Kildare men high in command, were then waiting for final orders to begin : among these were Mick Reynolds of Johnstown, near Naas ; George Luby of Rathcoffy, and Hugh Ware of Maynooth. They held frequent communications with the executive, and all had agreed to commence the struggle for freedom, as they contemplated.

Every hope of receiving any assistance from France was given up ; whereas the assurances to Tone from Talleyrand, prime minister to Buonaparte, of sending succour upon a grand scale, ended in mere words. The expedition which was going forward and preparing in the harbour of Toulon, absorbed all the thoughts of the French government, and was finally destined for *Ægypt*.

It was well known in Dublin that the King's Co. militia was one of the regiments who proposed in 1797 to seize upon the royal barracks and the Castle. A captain Armstrong belonging to it, being introduced to the Messrs. Sheareses, brothers, became, unluckily for the united cause, partaker of their secrets, who gave him an introduction to a serjeant of that regiment : this inferior officer denied, in consequence of the character of Armstrong, all knowledge of the Sheareses, and deserted : he was never heard of more. The fate of the Sheareses was now sealed ; they were informed against by Armstrong, seized and committed to prison. Immediately after

this these unhappy brothers were brought to trial, and prosecuted by Armstrong : they were found guilty and both hanged : concerning them the following is from the pen of Sir Jonah Barrington.

“ Messrs. Henry and John Sheares were of the Irish bar, and of a respectable family. Henry, the elder, had a competent fortune, and was an excellent domestic person, with a most amiable family. He had received an university education, but was not possessed of talent : plain and friendly, occasionally warm, generally credulous, and always full of prejudices : his mind was never strong enough to resist his feelings ; and though unexceptionable in private character, he had neither capacity nor discretion for a public life. The younger brother, John, was tall, fair, handsome, and of gentlemanly address ; his countenance was sensible and firm to inflexibility. With much more talent than his brother, he guided him at his discretion. They were inseparable as brothers, and were united by an almost unparalleled attachment.\* Mr. John Sheares, upon the arrest of the others, became one of the Executive Directory of the United Irishmen ; and, as a necessary consequence, Henry was a participator, and aided in procuring emissaries to seduce the troops at Loughlinstown. This Captain Armstrong became acquainted with the two brothers—pledged to them his friendship—persuaded them that he would seduce his own regiment—gained their implicit confidence—and worked up sufficient guilt to sacrifice the lives of both. This was one of the most interesting trials in Ireland.”† After this unhappy fate of the Sheareses the lot of M'Cann was to be determined next by the ruling power. Knowing that he stood high in the united business, and aware that he could, if brought over to the side of Reynolds, give such information to the Government as would lead to all its ramifications and tendencies, the Privy Council decided that his pardon should be given, and the highest rewards

\* *Par nobile fratrum.*—*Virgil.*

† Sir Jonah Barrington, cap. 23, p. 364.

conferred, if he would become an informer against the enemies of the Government. The principles of Mr. M'Cann were of too sterling a kind to listen to any overture or inducement to betray the cause of his fellow-citizens. The greatest allurements and offers of reward were proposed. He was found to be too faithful to the cause of his country to listen to any terms, and replied, that he was prepared to abide the consequences of a trial, and that the Government had not the power to purchase his fidelity.

Tom Reynolds became now the open and avowed opponent of United Irishmen, and the fate of M'Cann was soon to bring his perfidy to the test.

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#### CHAPTER XV.

Mr. M'Cann, his fate. Neilson. New-gate. Gregg, gaoler.—Arrest of Neilson. Barley-fields, Santry, and Rathfarnham. Fox-hunters, Kehoe, Ledwich executed on Carlisle bridge.—Naas. M. Reynolds of Johnstown. Commencement of the insurrection. Mail-coaches. Pitt and the Union.—Attack upon Naas, battle: defeat of the insurgents. Opinion of some officers, concerning the battle.—Blackamore-hill. John Andoe: his death. Town of Prosperous. Battle. Captain Swayne, O'Farrell; Doctor Esmonde.—Dr. Esmonde, Montgomery, Captain Griffith. Imprisonment of Dr. Esmonde: his prosecutors.—Sorrowful fate of Dr. Esmonde, Walsh, Captain Swayne. Insurrection extended. Narraghmore.—Battle of the bog-road, Wool-packs. Arrest of Walsh. Suffolk-fencibles. False witness against Walsh: cruel death.—Unheard of ferocity inflicted upon Walsh. Battle of old Kilcullen. Captain Erskine. Mr. Fitzgerald of Geraldine. May 23rd, 1798. Particulars of the battle of old Kilcullen. Captains Erskine and Cooke. General Dundas.—Captain Latouche and Cavalry. Defeat of the insurgents in their attack upon the town of Kilcullen.—The insurgents encamp upon Knockallin. Havoc of the insurgents at Agarvin, by Latouche's corps. Rev. Mr. Andoe, P. P. General Dundas.—Letters between the people, Generals Lake and Dundas. Leaders of the people. Number of the insurgents. Curragh of Kildare. Interview between the Generals and leaders of the people.—General Dundas guarded by two Dragoons only arrive in camp, together with the officers of the people, already named.

ON the day of M'Cann's trial, he being confronted and accused by his prosecutor, Reynolds, nothing could

be elicited by counsel in the cross-examination, was able to affect in the minds of the jury, the truth of Reynolds's accusation, and therefore it happened, that neither Miss Fitzgerald who was a Nun and aunt to the informer, nor Mr. Thomas Warren, a highly respectable citizen and his near relative, had the smallest influence upon judge or jury to invalidate the testimony of this notorious informer. A verdict of guilty was quickly found against the accused, and sentence of death followed : M'Cann met his fate with intrepidity ; his name will stand recorded as one of the bravest victims immolated in "98."

Neilson of whom mention has been already made, when touching upon the arrest of Lord Edward, subjected himself to be seized by the gaoler of New-gate, at an early hour before the darkness of night could conceal him ; he walked near to the prison, and being observed by Gregg the gaoler, a soldier on guard was called to arrest him : this news threw a new damp on the United men of the city, whereas he was named as the man to lead them to battle ; many thousands had assembled in the Barley fields contiguous to Dorset-street, and numerous bodies were collected at Santry and Rathfarnham, but the arrest of Neilson being known, the multitudes intended to attack the city were kept back by some among their leaders. The people were full of animation to fight, but for want of leaders, the troops escaped for that night, and no further attempt occurred to assail the city. Some men of the body who collected at Rathfarnham, were met by the fox-hunters commanded by Lord Jocelyn and defeated : several of the people lost their lives, and a young gentleman named Kehoe was awfully cut and hacked, carried in upon a dray-car, and after an exposure to public view, was carried into a room, his wounds were dressed and he recovered—the Lord Lieutenant's pardon was obtained, but the young man was ultimately ordered to leave Ireland. A Mr. Ledwich near Rathfarnham, was brought in and hanged upon Carlisle-bridge.

An attack was made upon Naas by Reynolds\* of Johnstown, who it may be said, was the instrument of beginning the troubles of '98. The signal (it was agreed upon by the Executive Directory) should be that of destroying all the mail coaches which were to leave Dublin on the 23rd May (evening.) The Cork and Limerick coaches had arrived at Johnstown near Naas without interruption. M. Reynolds's party of insurgents were assembling at the moment, and immediately by orders of Reynolds the horses were turned loose and the coaches set fire to. The *onus* now of having commenced devolved upon the county of Kildare. This was glorious news for the prime minister of England, Mr. Pitt, who when the account of the insurrectionary movement at Naas arrived, exultingly cried out, "the Union is mine."

About the dawning of the day, Reynolds marched with his force to the attack of Naas. This town was garrisoned by a considerable number of troops and some yeomanry both horse and foot. The insurgents proceeded further into the town, than where the old gaol stands; here they were met by a heavy fire from part of the army who were already under arms, as the attack had been anticipated from the burning of the coaches and the convulsed state of the surrounding districts. It was reluctantly acknowledged by some officers, that the issue of the battle was extremely doubtful for at least twenty minutes. However, discipline and a well directed fire, soon threw the countrymen into disorder: a retreat began among the people; this could not be restrained by their leaders, Reynolds, Andoe, and two brothers named Murphys—these intrepid men were among the last who saved themselves by flight. Reynolds accompanied by a few proceeded to join the Wicklow men, who commenced to congregate on Black-a-more hill.

\* Mr. M. Reynolds of Johnstown was a very respectable gentleman, and was proprietor of the Johnstown mills. The society in which he moved was of the first class in that county: his courage was of a superior cast; he was facetious, sociable, popular, and dear to the farming ranks around him.

On the day succeeding the battle of Naas, Mr. John Andoe, an interesting young man, was arrested at his mother's place—this family was highly respectable and very extensive landholders, he was dragged immediately to Naas and hanged. On the same day, viz. 23rd May, numerous assemblages took place in other parts of the county. At Prosperous, a small town inhabited principally by weavers, was attacked and the army defeated. Captain Swayne who commanded in the North-Cork regiment of Militia, was burned with his entire company with their barracks : O'Farrell, farmer, led the countrymen to the attack ; on this occasion, the catastrophe of that most worthy and respectable gentleman, Doctor Esmonde, who resided near Sallins, had its source and cause : he unhappily marched with the insurgents—whether by constraint or free will, 'tis not fully known ; however, the circumstances of his death are thus given in O'Kelly's history of "'98."

"On the morning after the tragic scene at Prosperous, Dr. Esmonde went and joined his corps of yeomen-cavalry in which he had been chosen lieutenant ; he and Montgomery of Leinster-mills, who became his prosecutor, rode to Naas where the Sallins yeomanry corps of cavalry, commanded by Mr. Griffith of Sallins, assisted the preceding night, to repel the attack of Reynolds and his men. Immediately on their arrival at Naas, Dr. Esmonde was ordered by Griffith to dismount, and was put under arrest ; his horse too was led within the prison walls, and himself sent on to Dublin under a strong guard. Previously to their setting out with their prisoner, he was put under a summary trial by court-martial and found guilty of having sanctioned by his presence, the attack upon Prosperous ; his prosecutors were Montgomery and Phil Mite, servant. On the prisoner's arrival in Dublin, his quick condemnation at Naas was sanctioned by the authorities in the city : he was hurried to Carlisle-bridge and there hanged from a lamp-post.

The treatment inflicted on that highly respectable character was ignominious in the extreme, his uniform as a yeoman was turned inside out when going to the place of execution, and was carried thither, and from thence (his corpse) upon a cart. In the castle yard his sorrowful remains were thrown into a hole in a dung hill. No victim at that sorrowful epoch was more universally regretted than Dr. Esmonde.\*

Another estimable gentleman named Walsh, was sacrificed at Naas to the *manes* of Captain Swayne: his sorrowful fate must elicit pity from the most obdurate breast. The night of the rebellion having burst forth, the insurrection in the county Kildare, extended to Carlow, Athy, Monasterevan, Rathangan, &c. Mr. Walsh having been a native of the district near Narraghmore, and assisted at the battle of the bog-road; the countrymen by Walsh's advice, availed themselves of a baggage of wool cars on their route to Dublin, and from this fortuitous defence, a few having muskets, fought a party of soldiers pursuing them from an adjoining farm house, where they had been living at free quarters. The few military engaged speedily retreated, and the battle of the bog-road ended favourable to the insurgents. After this engagement, it was the fate of Walsh to be arrested near Naas, in his endeavours to escape to Dublin, by a party of Suffolk fencibles: they found him in a gravel pit, in the middle of a corn field, whether by chance or by any information given them, 'tis not known.

To bring Mr. Walsh to trial and execution, was soon effected by suborning a base female who had been kept by Captain Swayne, burned in the battle of Prosperous, a few days before: she swore that her master had been the victim of Walsh and his brother-rebels. The death of Walsh surpasses, in ferocity, every act perpetrated by the army, during that awful year: after half-hanging him, he was taken down, his body cut open, his heart taken out and part of it was eaten by three of the

\* He was one of the handsomest men of the day: he moved in the highest classes of society: he was father to Sir Thomas Esmonde.

Suffolk fencibles: his remains, after this, were burned to ashes, and the part of the heart not eaten, was stuck upon a pole, which after a few days, was taken down by a party of the Waterford militia, who succeeded the Suffolks at Naas. The battle of Old Kilcullen, was one of the most intrepid and obstinately fought, during "'98." Captain Erskine who had been quartered on Mr. Fitzgerald of Geraldine, was returning from Dublin on the night of 23rd May, and passing through Ballymore Eustace, he found to his surprise, that the people of that town had risen, and defeated a small military force that had been living at free-quarters.

Having arrived, after a few hours, with his men stationed at Geraldine, he swore vehemently that he would not breakfast till he should do so on the croppies of Ballymore. His troop was instantly on their march, and having proceeded they arrived so far as Kilcullengreen, without interruption; he perceived men assembling at the old church yard: to attack and charge them, were now the commands given by Erskine, and the fight commenced; the old church afforded a temporary security against the assault of the dragoons, and therefore to cut them down was impossible: after the first fire, they rushed suddenly from behind the walls, and although not more in number than the dragoons, as it was asserted by the men who fought, the pikes reached both the rider and his horse, and in less than an hour, Captains Erskine and Cooke with 26 of their men lay dead upon the fair-green of old Kilcullen: the two officers fell in a shallow pool of water, and cut at the long weapons of their assailants till life became extinct. General Dundas was near at hand and acknowledged the battle to have been well fought by the insurgents.

The countrymen after this success proceeded to the attack of New Kilcullen, but the military force there was victorious: the temporary barracks which they occupied afforded shelter, and the firing from within against the insurgents forced them to retreat and to leave the barrack and town in possession of the military.

Captain Latouche's yeoman cavalry were quartered in the town : in crossing the Liffey at Agaroin, where it was fordable, several men fell beneath their swords, and during their flight and retreat from the town. This sudden disaster spread itself widely among the surrounding parishes, and by the advice of Rev. Mr. Andoe, P.P., the scattered fugitives, after Latouche's havoc among them, assembled together and formed an encampment on the hill of Knockallin. There it was determined to propose terms of surrender to General Dundas, whose head-quarters were in the mansion-house of Castlemartin.

On Whitsunday, 26th May, letters had been forwarded from the people to General Dundas, in which it was proposed that they would surrender their arms if free quarters would cease, all arrests of persons and plunder by the soldiery be abandoned, and restitutions made for property carried off. Letters of acquiescence were received from the General by the people in camp on Whitsunday morning, which, on being read, produced great apparent joy to the people. Their officers deliberated together to depute some among them to the General's head-quarters, Castlemartin-house, and accordingly two brothers named Finerties, of Kilrush, proceeded on their mission accompanied by Kelly from Athy, who urged the state of things in the barony of Kilkea and Moon to be so serious as to make it of dire necessity to receive and accede to the terms of surrender already discussed by letters from the chief officer of the king's troops. The number of insurgents in the camp was computed to be about 6,000, generally armed with pikes, muskets, swords and pitchforks,\* with a numerous body of horsemen well mounted, having pistols, blunderbusses and swords. The Curragh of Kildare being contiguous afforded the opportunity of good horses to be seen among their ranks : all were seized and brought to camp, which made a great display of the people's cavalry.

The three officers above named rode to Castlemartin,

\* "Furor arma ministrat."—Virg.

distant from the people's camp about two English miles : there they met, on their arrival, Generals Dundas and Lake, commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland : this first interview was ominous in the extreme. The introductory salutation was first given respectfully by Dundas and Lake, which was replied to with equal deference by O'Kelly, who had been named Colonel by the Athy men, and the Finerties captains of the district of Ballyshannon near Kilrush ; these had been the tenants of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Generals Lake and Dundas had a numerous staff with them, and the captains Latouche and Sir Fenton Aylmer with their corps also of yeomen cavalry. The first questions turned upon where was the surrender of arms to take place. Lake was vehement in insisting that the people must come down from the hill and surrender in the avenue of Castlemartin. The deputation from the people was opposed to the demand made by Lake and fearlessly declared, that the people would not leave camp before peace was given them : at length after various remonstrances from both Generals, General Dundas drew his sword, wielded it and said, " I'll take your surrender in your camp." The officers of the people above named, rode together with General Dundas, to the hill, where joy and surprise were manifested, that we had arrived among them accompanied by General Dundas and a slender guard of two dragoons.

In presence of this humane officer of the king, I addressed the people thus, " you have deputed me together with the Messrs. Finerties, to negotiate with the officers of his majesty's forces, for a peaceful surrender of our arms, and that free-quarters shall henceforward cease and a restoration of property taken to be given, and no more arrests of persons nor plunder be put into execution against the people : the king's generals, one of whom is before you, have consented to these terms, excepting one, viz., the restoration of property taken by the army. One point was particularly pressed by General Lake, commander-in-chief, to have the people descend from the

hill and proceed to Castlemartin avenue, and there deposit their arms : this I intrepidly opposed, and which, as you see, has been obtained, from the benign concurrence of this distinguished officer whom you perceive has accompanied us to your camp to receive your arms by a peaceful surrender of them."

## CHAPTER XVI.

Surrender of arms : intentions of General Lake, army concealed on the banks of the Liffey.—Castlemartin. Major General Sir James Duff. Knockallen. General Dundas.—Cowper of Ballymannny. Rath of the Curragh. General Lake and Dundas.—Stand house and Stabling for race horses—perfidy of General Duff. 325 men slaughtered.—General Dunne commander of the Black-horse, Lord Roden commander of the Fox-hunters. Captain Baggot. Eighty-five widows in one street of Kildare. Rathangan and Doorley.—Captain James Spencer. North Cork militia. Defeat at Prosperous. Captain Swayne.—Philipstown. The Black-horse. The tree of liberty. South Cork militia. Colonel Longfield.—Murder of Captain Spencer Mr. Molloy hanged. Doorley leader of the insurgents.—Aylmer, Lube, and Ware ; Their forces. A panic seizes the insurgents : defeat follows. Amount of killed on both sides. The leaders of the insurgents surrender to General Dundas.—Aylmer proceeds to Austria, Ware to France. Fate of Doorley, his arrest and execution.—Battle of Monasterevan : defeat of the insurgents.—Yeomen of Captain Saunders shot on Dunlavin green.—Antient Britons, the executioners of thirty-six men, condemned by Captain Saunders.—Battle of Arklow : troops forwarded from Dublin to aid in its defence. Lord Farnham commander of the Cavan militia. The insurgents defeated.—Position of the insurgents. General Needham. Colonel Skerritt. Dumbarton fencibles.—Reverend Mr. Murphy. Mr. Billy Byrne of Ballymanus. Retreat and defeat of the insurgents.—New Ross attacked. Bagnal Harvey. General Johnston. Battle. The army confused by means of oxen goaded on by the pikemen.

AN immediate surrender of the arms was carried into effect ; they were thrown promiscuously into a vast heap and were carried off to head-quarters the day following, by a party of soldiers. The reader will reasonably expect to be informed, what peculiar motive General Lake might have had in requiring, that the insurgents assembled on Knockallen should proceed from their camp for the purpose of surrendering their arms : the following

is the fact and will be easily understood by all: on the day previous to the surrender (*Sunday morning*), a numerous force consisting of three regiments, was marched by a private route adjoining the river Liffey, and were stationed amid high and winding banks, sufficiently contiguous, being within about one mile of Castlemartin avenue, where, as General Lake intended, the people were to surrender their arms. This military force were seen by the author, the morning subsequent to the surrender, marching so early as about 4 o'clock, by the hotel at Calverstown, where he had slept, in order to be near to General Dundas, for the purpose of getting his protection, promised him at the moment of carrying their surrender into effect. The same troops shot (*that morning*), a man named Doyle, who unfortunately raised his head from a cave to view them passing. This was an indubitable proof added to the massacre perpetrated, the day following, on the rath of the Curragh of Kildare, upon 325 of the insurgents, that General Lake would chastise, in the most summary way, the body of men whom he hoped to surround with his troops from the banks of the Liffey, had not the deputation from the people's camp, strenuously opposed him in his attempt of inducing them to surrender in the avenue of Castlemartin.

We now fall into one of the most distressing scenes that has ever fallen to the duty of an historian to relate. On Tuesday, May 29, " '98" Major-General Sir James Duff, arrived early in the morning, in the town of Kildare. He had been ordered to hasten from Limerick where he had been stationed, and to join the troops quartered over the county of Kildare, and engaged in quelling the insurrection that had broken out. The news had gone forth, that the Kilcullen men, and the entire body who had been encamped upon Knockallen had been pardoned for their past deeds, and that General Dundas who had been the peace-maker would secure the people against every annoyance and military outrage for the future, as he had already given protection to

some officers who had applied to him for protection.\* Under all these circumstances, the people of Kildare hoped, that General Duff would act in a similar way as Dundas had done, and knowing well that a treaty of surrender had now become inevitable, Cooper of Ballinamanny, whose dwelling and farm offices were adjoining, but had been previously burned by the military, persuaded the unsuspecting multitude, that Genl. S. J. Duff would grant them similar terms as the men of Kilcullen, &c., had already obtained from Lake and Dundas. The credulous multitude attaching belief to the words of Cooper, proceeded from the town of Kildare, to the rath which lay distant about two miles.

No spot could have been chosen in which the slaughter of so many men could be so easily accomplished, when the victims intended for it had arrived; neither ditch, hedge, nor house, was within the distance of about two English miles, except the stand-house or some scattered stabling for race horses; these were perhaps a mile from the scene of carnage, just to be commenced as soon as the army would arrive at where the deluded men of Kildare were to be sacrificed. Without ceremony, Duff commanded the rebels, as he called them, to throw their arms into a heap, and after this had been complied with he ordered them to kneel at a distance from where the arms were thrown, saying loudly, at the same moment, to beg the king's pardon for the outrage of having rebelled. This command, so perfidious in its meaning and tendency, was complied with; which being done, a dead silence seemed to prevail among the troops. Major General Sir James Duff instantly thundered out, "charge and spare no rebel!!" Havoc, consternation, and death now spread themselves on all sides. The horror of the scene was and is indescribable.†

\* According to appointment of General Dundas, I waited upon him the day following the surrender of the arms, in order to obtain a protection: during the time of my stay, probably about one hour, he observed and said, "you are a very sensible young man, go home to your own district, keep the colliers quiet, and if they do not, we will smother them in their pits." He then handed me a very honourable protection.

† "Ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago," Virg. *translated*, terror now pervades and death grasps at all!!

The cutting down and slaughtering this deluded and disarmed multitude was but too easily accomplished; the troops consisted entirely of horsemen—the Black-horse commanded by General Dunne, and the Fox-hunters commanded by Lord Roden, besides Capt. Bagot's yeomen cavalry were too powerful executioners to be withstood by men without arms and upon their knees. The number of victims who fell beneath these murderers' murdering sword, was 325. In one street alone of Kildare town, distant from the scene of slaughter about two English miles, there were reckoned 85 widows, the following morning. This carnage outweighs in enormity every act committed on either side, the army or the people, throughout the disasters of '98. The memory of it should never be effaced—it should instruct the warrior \* to spare, and the vanquished never to confide.†

The battle of Rathangan comes next to be recorded. The attack upon this town succeeded with the insurgents: they were commanded by a Captain Doorley, a respectable young farmer whose residence was called Lullymore. This farm was singularly situated, being surrounded on all sides by the bog of Allen, except one passage which rendered it difficult of access to strangers. The garrison of Rathangan was slender, consisting of one corps of yeomen commanded by Captain James Spencer, land agent to the Duke of Leinster, and half a company of militia who belonged to the regiment called the North Corks, an entire company of whom met their death and defeat at Prosperous, together with Swayne their captain. After a feeble resistance by Captain Spencer and the militia, those who escaped, fled to Philipstown, where they were joined by the Black Horse, and combining their force, they marched against the insurgents at Rathangan, who had already planted the tree of liberty in the street. They constructed a barri-

\* "Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." Virg. *Translated*—To spare the suppliant and subdue the haughty.

† "Equo ne credite teucri." Virg. *i.e.* Trojans trust not to the horse.

cade to impede the entrance of the Black Horse and the party of militia who had already fled from the town.

The Black Horse were bravely opposed in their first attempt, by a fire kept up by the insurgents from the interior of some houses, and were forced to retreat, when meeting with a party of South Corks, commanded by Colonel Longfield, who had with him one piece of cannon, they now marched against the insurgents, and after a short but brisk contest, became masters of Rathangan. While the people were in possession of the town, it unfortunately happened, that Captain Spencer was murdered by the unthinking and furious multitude, who seldom discriminate in the hour of passion, on the merit or demerit of the individual : James Spencer Esq., merited more honorable treatment than to have fallen a victim to the fury of the multitude ; as an agent, he was ever found to be indulgent, humane and merciful. Some executions of respectable individuals were perpetrated immediately on the town having fallen again into the hands of the military : a Mr. Molloy, lieutenant in Spencer's corps, was mercilessly hurried to execution and hanged. The day following the re-capture of Rathangan, these black horsemen of General Dunn, saturated their souls and swords on the rath of the Curragh, with the blood and brains of the immolated victims of Kildare.

Captain Doorley repaired now to his dear farm in the bog, as he called it, where he found his houses, offices &c. burned to the ground : his young wife, recently married, had to return to her family for her subsistence, and his aged father (being in his seventy-fifth year, now found himself without house, or any comforts of life. The son finding all things desolate at home, proceeded to join the insurrectionary movement under Aylmer, Luby and Ware. Mr. A. having been an officer in the Kildare regiment of Militia, and thereby well instructed in military discipline, was looked upon as fittest to command their united force. The call made by Aylmer, Luby and Ware had the desired result

of assembling a multitude of their countrymen together ; they encamped at Ovidstown near Hortland House with a force of about 10,000. The arrival of the army to attack them was sudden and unexpected : the men were all preparing to breakfast and the officers are daly sitting, when some bugles sounded the alarm. The king's troops were said to have amounted only to 400, comparatively a small force against so large a body of insurgents, but the want of discipline rendered them unfit to cope with even that small number of troops.

The orders issued by Aylmer were, for the pikemen to rush upon the cannon and dislodge the gunners : some of his gunmen however successfully (the pikemen keeping back,) shot the artillerymen who were serving the first piece which played against them, and were in the act of dragging it away, when a discharge from another gun dislodged them, and recovered the cannon seized by the people, a sudden panic confuses all, and a retreat commenced. The brave Aylmer, Luby and Ware, together with Kiernan, Doorley, &c. &c. performed their duty as soldiers and patriots, but the rush of the masses like a torrent, could not be restrained : their camp, provisions, &c. &c. soon fell into the hands of Highlanders, Dragoon Guards, and four troops of Yeomen cavalry. About 200 of the insurgents fell on this day, and the loss of the enemy was inconsiderable, viz. two officers killed, three wounded, and about 20 privates killed.

The uuitied army of the county Kildare became, on this occasion, dispersed and dispirited. General Dundas had already given protections to very many from various parts of the county, and to him also Aylmer, Luby and Ware surrendered themselves as state prisoners. Immediately afterwards Aylmer obtained permission to enter into the Austrian service : Ware proceeded to France, where he was appointed to the post of a Colonel, and fought in several campaigns ; Mr. George Lube proceeded to New York, where he soon afterwards died. The intrepid Doorley was less fortunate : after passing several days in the vicinity of Athy, advising a second

attempt at insurrection, he returned to Lullymore, and after bidding his aged father a long adieu, he was passing into Westmeath, where he was arrested when crossing the Boyne-water by a party of Edenderry yeomen, and being transmitted to Mullingar, he was tried summarily by a court martial, and was hanged and beheaded ; and the head placed upon a spike outside the gaol of Mullingar.

Monasterevan was attacked on the morning of 24th May ; the assailants were not headed by any brave commander ; therefore they were easily dispersed by Baggot's corps of yeomen infantry and Hoysted's cavalry, aided by two companies of the South Cork militia. Lieutenant Baggot and his men marched to meet the assailants, who were advancing along the banks of the canal. The yeomen fired steadily, and displayed a vigorous opposition : however, the countrymen were not intimidated, though some of them had already fallen : they proceeded and got into the new town. The yeomen kept a running fire, until they got to the church which was surrounded by a wall ; this served as a kind of breast-work against their assailants. The countrymen, finding it impossible to unite their strength, began to give way and were hotly pursued by their enemy : about 70 of them perished during the attack and retreat. The Tuesday following, Hoysted's cavalry fought under Duff, in his murder of the insurgents of Kildare.

The next in horror to be related is the deliberate murder of thirty-six men, belonging to the yeomanry corps of Captain James Saunders and Colonel Keating, of Narraghmore. The circumstances are thus detailed in O'Kelly's History of "'98," p. 265. Captain Saunders having received private information that several of his yeomanry corps were United Irishmen, he had them called together, and after challenging each one who had been suspected, 28 were immediately put under arrest, and being surrounded by a force of the Ancient Britons, were marched directly to Dunlavin, where ten more prisoners belonging to Colonel Keating's corps of yeomen

infantry, were committed to prison in the market-house. On the next fatal morning these thirty-six men were led out to be slaughtered like sheep: the Ancient Britons were the executioners in this horrible tragedy. We begin now with the battles of Arklow and New Ross, our details of the Wexford insurrection. To protect Arklow was imperatively necessary, yet it was but poorly garrisoned, and totally unprovided with ammunition or provisions. The soldiery was considerably less than one thousand men, principally irregular troops, and not a field work or other preparation had been made to defend the place. An old barrack, incapable of defence, was their only fortification, four pieces of field artillery their only ordnance, and a party of the Ancient Britons commanded by W. W. Wynn, with some yeomen, their only cavalry. The insurgents had collected nearly thirty thousand at the ruined town of Gorey, not far from Arklow, which they imprudently vowed they would storm the next morning. The alarm in Dublin on receiving the intelligence may be easily imagined. An immediate reinforcement to the garrison of Arklow was decided upon. The Cavan militia, commanded by the late Lord Farnham, were dispatched to succour General Needham, but the distance being more than thirty miles, they were hurried off in every sort of vehicle; and even the carriages of the nobility and gentry were seized or tendered for the occasion.

The Cavan regiment arrived at the critical moment. The conflict was in a level field, at the extremity of the town: the King's troops being in a line on open ground with two pieces of cannon at each wing. The insurgents who had arms were drawn up in a line exactly parallel, with a very low ditch in front and two pieces of artillery on each flank. Small flags of green and yellow waved in every part of their position. The fire began as if they had been regularly disciplined, no movements were made on either side: the pike-men formed a crescent on a range of hills, over the royalists and waited for any disorder to rush down and exterminate them. Neither

party seemed to gain ground, except that, on the side of the people, one of the gunners belonging to the R. troops was killed which seemed to render the battle doubtful, however the pikemen still wavered and kept back from the scene of action.

General Needham and other officers were disposed to retreat, but Colonel Skerritt of the Dumbarton fencibles, resolutely declared that his regiment never would give way. The ammunition on both sides was nearly exhausted, when at length a body of pikemen led on by Rev. Mr. Murphy, made a bold attack on the right wing of the troops, but their intrepid leader fell by a ball from a four-pounder. This so dispirited the insurgents that a retreat was instantly commenced. No efforts of the brave Billy Byrne of Ballymanus, or of the other leaders, could impede the multitude in their retreat, so dispirited were they from the fatal catastrophe of Rev. Mr. Murphy.

The battle of Ross comes next to be recorded. This town is surrounded on three sides by steep hills, and on the fourth by a river, over which a long wooden bridge is built, and by this means an intercourse prevails with the Southern counties. The insurgents who had assembled to attack Ross, were said to amount to about 30,000 men, and had encamped on Corbett hill. They appointed Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey to be their general. In Sir Jonah Barrington's memoir, he is represented to have been unfit by nature or valour to fill the duties attached to so serious an enterprise; his figure, he says, was diminutive, his voice tremulous. He was a Protestant barrister of fortune, and was lord of Bargay castle besides other possessions in the county of Wexford: his aide-de-camp was a Mr. Nicholas Gray, a highly respectable solicitor, a flag of truce was forwarded by Harvey, and carried by a Mr. Furlong to Major General Johnson, commanding him to surrender Ross to the insurgents.

On approaching the outposts, Mr. Furlong was shot and the people rushed with rage to the fight. Harvey and Gray continued passive spectators, on a neighbour-

ing hill, during ten hours fighting. The first attack began at about six o'clock in the morning, at one entrance only of the town, which had been the most easy part to be defended by the garrison. A regiment of infantry and one of cavalry sallied forth to meet the insurgents. Both regiments were driven back with great loss : the cavalry by a vast number of oxen goaded forward by the pikemen, the infantry by ambuscade and partial attacks.

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### CHAPTER XVII.

Battle of New Ross, Lord Mountjoy killed. Artillery taken. Insurgents could not be controlled. The town on fire. Signal valour of a youth named Lett aged 13 years. John Kelly of Killan.—The insurgents successful for a while. The want of subordination among them caused their defeat: retreat to Corbet-hill: about 5,000 killed.—Harvey commander of the insurgents. Vinegar-hill, its description.—General Lake. Supposed number of the insurgents: their arms &c.—The women also fought. General Lake and officers. Bravery of the insurgents: their retreat. General Needham.—Town of Enniscorthy: many killed, and prisoners burned. Barn of Scullabogue.—Beginning and cause of the insurrection. Massacre of twenty-eight men. Rev. Michael Murphy. Rev. John Murphy.—General Fawcett. Duncannon fort. Wexford. Mountain of Forth. General Fawcett defeated.—Decision to surrender Wexford. Camp on the Three Rocks. Wexford in possession of the insurgents. Prisonships, striving to escape to Wales. Mr. Edward Hay: Murders and other excesses perpetrated by the army.—Discipline of the insurgents. Baronies of Forth and Bargay. Mr. Cornelius Grogan. Lake and his officers. Dress &c. of the insurgents. Oyster boats manned.—Provisions taken at sea by their boats. Harbour of Wexford and fort of Roslare. Price of provisions. Provisions distributed by a committee. No distinctions in supplying them. General Loftus at Gorey. Number of his troops. Insurgents encamped at Carrigrew.—Colonel Walpole and the insurgents; cannon taken. Flight of soldiers to Arklow. Almost all Wexford in possession of the insurgents.—Supposed soliloquy of Pitt. The Irish excited. The insurgent army. Unexpected supply of gunpowder.—Proclamation of General Edward Roche, commander-in-chief of the insurgent army. Signed Edward Roche.—Fishermen's boats destroyed. Apprehended landing of the English. Arrangements of the people to guard against surprise.—Sufferings of the people, and crimes perpetrated by the army. Hay's history.—Edward Roche general of the people. Rev. Philip Roche.

Lord Mountjoy fell at the head of his regiment, the Dublin militia, immediately at the gate; the main street

became the scene of a most sanguinary and protracted conflict, the royalists were forced back, their artillery taken and turned upon themselves. The market-house was still in the possession of the military ; from here, the troops were, after several hours of hard fighting, forced to retreat, the insurgents certain of victory, lost all subordination, and, in their turn, were attacked by such of the garrison as had time to rally. Many were killed almost without resistance, the town was set on fire, and in the midst of the flames the battle raged most violently. The royalists recovered the main street, the people were on the point of being finally repulsed, when a young gentleman, 13 years of age, from the town of Wexford, of the respectable family of Lett,\* who had stolen himself away from his mother and joined General Harvey on Corbet-hill. When this boy saw the disorder of the men, and the incapacity of their leaders, he, with a boyish impulse, snatched up a standard and calling out, "follow me who dare," and rushed down the hill. Two or three thousand pikemen rapidly followed him, in a tumultuous crowd, uttering the most appalling cries. In a moment he was at the gate—rallied his party—and with his reinforcement, rushed upon the garrison, who fatigued and amazed at the renewed vigor of their enemy, were again borne down and compelled with much loss, fighting step by step, to retire towards the bridge.

For many hours the fighting in the streets and houses was incessant, and the insurgents were very nearly in possession of the entire place, when again all subordination vanished, and again fortune forsook them. Some hundred houses were in a blaze : the horror surpassed

\* Before this youthful boy ushered himself so conspicuously into the fight, John Kelly of Killan, a true hero, received so severe a wound in his leg, that he became unable to lead on his men in the career of victory, which was twice gained by his courage, but miserably lost by the imprudence of his men, who when they supposed the town to be their own, turned to indulge in liquor—at all times the bane of Ireland. Kelly's lamentable fate and end will come on again to be told, when the atrocities perpetrated in Wexford, after the town had been surrendered to the King's troops, will be detailed in full. O'Kelly's History of '98, p. 104.

description. The remaining body of the garrison overcome by fatigue became almost unable to continue the contest. The firing however continued till towards night, when the insurgents who had not entered the houses, having no officers to command them, retreated about half a mile towards Corbet-hill, leaving some thousands of their comrades asleep in different houses or in the streets to which the flames had not communicated. Of these the garrison put some hundreds to the sword, without any resistance ; and more than 5,000 were either killed or consumed by the conflagration. The garrison greatly diminished and exhausted by ten hours incessant fighting, without refreshments, lay down in the streets, slumbering amongst the dead ; and had Harvey, at any hour before morning, returned with even 1,000 fresh men, every soldier might have been slaughtered, resistance would have been impossible.

We now turn to Vinegar-hill ; this is a low, verdant and beautiful mountain. The river Slaney rolls smoothly near its base, on one side, and the large town of Enniscorthy lies immediately under it, upon another : at one point the ascent is rather steep, on the others gradual : the top is crowned by a dilapidated stone-built windmill. The hill is extensive and completely commands the town, and most of the approaches to it : the country around it is rich, sufficiently wooded, and studded with country seats and lodges. Few spots in Ireland, under all its circumstances, can at this moment be more interesting to a traveller. On the summit of this hill the insurgents had collected the remains of their Wexford army : the number may be conjectured, from Genl. Lake's deciding, that 20,000 regular troops were necessary for the attack. The people had dug a large trench around the base : they had a few pieces of small disabled cannon, some swivels, and not above two thousand fire-arms of all kinds. But their situation was desperate : and Gen. Lake considered that two thousand fire-arms, in the hands of infuriated and outrageous men, supported by a multitude of pikemen, might be equal to ten times the

number under other circumstances.\* A great many women had mixed with their relatives, and fought courageously : several were found dead among the men, who had fallen in crowds by the bursting of shells.

Genl. Lake at the break of day, disposed his attack in four columns, whilst his cavalry were prepared to do execution on the fugitives. One of the columns, whether by accident or design, (is strongly debated,) did not arrive in time at its station, which enabled the insurgents to retreat to Wexford, through a country where they could not be pursued by cavalry or cannon ; General Lake's horse was shot—many officers wounded—some killed. The troops advanced gradually and steadily up the hill : the insurgents kept up their fire and maintained their ground—their cannon was nearly useless—their powder deficient—but they died fighting at their post. At length enveloped in a torrent of fire, they broke and sought their safety, through the space that General Needham had left by the non-arrival of his column. They were however partially pursued and charged by some cavalry but with little execution : they arrived at Wexford, same night, and occupied the town.

Previously to the battle of Vinegar hill the town of Enniscorthy had been attacked by several bodies of the insurgents, and after various efforts and a hard fought battle, the assailants succeeded, with heavy loss to the inhabitants by the burning of many houses and the loss of life : the prison into which about forty wounded prisoners were thrown, was set fire to by the soldiery when

\* On the night before the battle of Vinegar-hill, Mr. John Hay, brother to Mr. Edward Hay of respected memory, took a command, or at least gave counsel, to attack General Lake and his troops, during the night. Finding from an observation which he had made by telescope, on the approach of night, that Lake had displayed a loose and irregular encampment, and that the soldiers had evinced marks of fatigue, from the mode in which they lay scattered among the hedges, where the army had pitched their camp, he consequently advised a nightly attack. Hay served for many years in the French army, and was deemed an able officer. His counsel now was not attended to, and therefore a defeat of the insurgents followed, by awaiting the attack of the army. O'Kelly's History of '98, p. 107.

retreating, and all within it perished. In retaliation to this bloody scene, the burning of the barn of Scullabogue, in which were between 80 and 100 protestant prisoners and about 20 catholics, followed in a few days. Death and desolation kept steadily moving on every side of that devoted county, and none were to be found among the loyalist party that did not aid in the general massacre and destruction which were carried into woful effect, during the space of three and twenty or thirty days : it would appear that the total extermination of the people was the object in view. So soon as Lake and his army became masters of Wexford, the blood-thirsty acts of that monster of cruelty could be equalled only by the acts of Henry VIII., Oliver Cromwell, and Henry's daughter by Anne Bullen, queen Bess of glorious memory to Protestants.

The first rising of the insurgents in the heroic county of Wexford took place from Carnew to Oulard : but the deliberate massacre of twenty-eight men in the ball-alley of Carnew, without any trial whatever, roused the people to take up arms and save themselves from total extermination. The Rev. Michl. Murphy had been so alarmed on hearing of the rising of the people, that he fled into the town of Gorey, early on Whit-sunday. On his arrival, not finding the person with whom he lodged, he returned to Ballicarnew by bye-roads, in order to avoid meeting the orangemen, who, that very day, had broken and demolished the altar and the windows of his chapel, and while proceeding with their sacrilege, uttered the most vehement threats against the priest and his popish flock. These menaces had the effect of rousing Rev. Mr. Murphy to cling to the people, The Rev. John Murphy, R. C. Curate of the parish of Monageer, attached himself to the insurgents, from similar causes whereby his namesake had been constrained to act.

General Fawcett who had been at Duncannon fort, marched to reinforce Wexford, and had arrived at Taghmon, where he awaited the arrival of a force which

he had ordered to follow : meanwhile a party of the Meath militia, of 70 men, and a lieut. Birch of the artillery with two howitzers proceeded, without halting, to Wexford, apprehending no interruption in their march. They had already ascended the road, along the side of the mountain of Forth, when perceived by the outposts of the insurgents who poured down upon them with such rapidity, that they were in a few moments cut off, except an ensign and sixteen privates, who were taken prisoners. The magazine was blown up in the conflict, and the two howitzers were rendered by the explosion, of little avail to the victors. Genl. Fawcett instead of advancing to Wexford, retreated to Duncannon fort, and the other troops, who had been on their route from there.

It was decided upon, after the retreat of General Fawcett, to surrender Wexford to the insurgents, who had been encamped on the three rocks. The military of every grade made a precipitate retreat—some of them assuming the garb and covering of women, others seeking to be habited in the old clothes of others, which they could obtain : the boats and vessels in the harbour were manned by the people and some prison ships brought back which were endeavouring to escape to the coast of Wales. Mr. E. Hay was among them, having been condemned for his principles of croppism, &c. In his history he observes, that some protestants who had been obnoxious to the people, were murdered by the infuriated populace, upon their landing amongst them : he mentions Boyd and Sparrow ; Col. Colville with part of his regiment, the 13th., was the last who retreated from Wexford : these left heavy traces of their cruelty, as they marched ; they murdered every man in coloured clothes whom they met, and burned the Roman C. Chapel of Maglass, besides other houses.

The tide at the scar being too high for them to cross on their route to Duncannon Fort, they were forced to make a circuitous route, and several of them fell victims to the country people as they straggled along.

In Wexford, discipline began to be observed by the insurgents : they paraded regularly on the custom-house quay, and appointed their own officers ; guards were struck off and relieved with a pass-word and countersign. The baronies of Forth and Bargay, assembled only when Wexford was in possession of the people, and having concentrated their numbers, marched to the aid of the masses congregated in Wexford town. Spits and pitch-forks were their first weapons ; but pikes soon succeeded them.\* “Furor arma ministrat, Virg., i. e. rage supplies weapons.” On their march from Forth and Bargay, it was the fate of Mr. Cornelius Grogan to fall into their hands, at his seat of Johnstown Castle : they forced him, then in his 70th year, to proceed with them apparently to join in the insurrection. The fate of this gentleman was truly tragical ; it will appear among the tragic scenes perpetrated by Lake and his sanguinary accomplices in crime.

Green cockades, sashes, banners, were eagerly worn and carried by the insurgents. Four oyster boats were fitted out in the harbour, and each manned with twenty-five men, to cruise outside the bay ; these, from time to time, brought in several vessels laden with oats, potatoes and other sorts of provisions, which became very seasonable supplies for the town now likely to suffer heavy distress, whereas the country people, from the state of things, would not come to sell their produce, where no money, it was thought, would appear.

Three old pieces of cannon were brought down, and mounted on the fort of Roslare, situate at the entrance of the harbour, to prevent any sloops of war from passing, such armed vessels only being capable of getting into the harbour of Wexford. Four old sloops were ready to be scuttled and sunk in the channel, to prevent any armed vessels of that kind, in the event of escaping the Fort, from approaching the town.

\* “Quos ego ; sed motos præstat componere fluctus.” Virg. translated, which I (*said Pitt*,) *shall punish* ; but it is better to allay the disturbed waters.

Money was scarce, whereas bank-notes were apparently of little value, and those who held them eagerly purchased any kind of goods sooner than retain them. Butter was selling, during the days of trouble, for 2d. a lb., and butchers' meat at 1d. The necessity for the usual supplies in market was superseded by the committee appointed to look to the people's wants, as particular care had been taken that no person or family should be forgotten or suffered to want the necessaries of life. Tickets were furnished to all indiscriminately\* who applied ; and no instance could be adduced, that the families or relatives of the Orange party or character, had been neglected or omitted to be among those requiring relief.

On June 3rd. General Loftus arrived in Gorey with 1,500 men ; with these and a large force commanded by Colonel Walpole, it was decided to attack the insurgents encamped at Carrigrew. The march of the troops, as had been preconcerted by their officers, was by two different routes, and as fortune guided it, the insurgent army was on their march to attack the town of Gorey : Walpole's division having met with them suddenly and unawares, both troops and the people commenced mutually to assail each other in a desperate conflict. Col. Walpole soon fell in the action, after which his troops immediately took to flight : three pieces of cannon, of small calibre, were left and taken by the insurgents, several of Walpole's division fell also, and three officers with many of the privates of the Antrim militia composing a part of his force, were among those who had been taken prisoners.

Such of the troops as had reached Gorey in their precipitate retreat, were about to put some prisoners who had been in the guard-house to death, but on hearing that the insurgents were in hot pursuit, they desisted and fled precipitately to Arklow. General Loftus and his party proceeded by a different route to cooperate with Walpole, but to his amazement and terror he found

\* Hay's History of '98.

him lying among the slain. The insurgents were now in possession of the whole of Wexford except the fort of Duncannon, the towns of Ross and Newtown-Barry ; if Arklow had fallen into their power, they might to the terror of government, menace the capital itself, when Pitt and his party might exclaim, alas ! we have provoked this state of things, and the enraged Irish will seek revenge for our many crimes and atrocious treatment towards them. The want of ammunition in Wexford which was head-quarters, and from whence all the supplies necessary for the camps were forwarded, retarded the operations of the insurgent army ; an unexpected relief of gun-powder was obtained by the following incident : a Guinea cutter was disabled to proceed on her voyage by the loss of her rudder, and being seized by the boats cruising for a prize, was brought into harbour : three barrels of gun-powder were found on board : this was seasonable aid, whereas what the people got in the barracks and among the shops, was nearly worn out.

History cannot furnish a parallel to the insurrection of 1798, in which so much of personal valour was performed by Wexfordian heroism. The guns-men were rarely known to retreat while the powder and ball had lasted, "*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*," Virg. *i.e.* the only safety for the vanquished is, to expect no quarter. The following proclamation by General Edward Roche, furnished an irrefragable proof, that the united army of Wexford contemplated to establish freedom on a solid basis, and so far from countenancing projects favourable to those only of the Catholic faith, that it contemplated to embrace all sects of Irishmen. Many Protestants composed a part of his army, and were deemed as efficient soldiers as if they professed his own religion and tenets.

#### TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"Countrymen and fellow soldiers," your "patriotic exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a

short time must be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her drooping head : thousands daily flock to her standard : the voice of her children every where prevails. Let us then in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty ruler of the universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures, which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government, to keep the people in slavery. Nothing now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the victories you have already won, but an implicit obedience to the command of your chiefs, for through a want of proper subordination and discipline all may be endangered.

"At this eventful period, all Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people, strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders ; but what power can resist men fighting for liberty ?"

"In the moment of triumph, my countrymen let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton acts of cruelty. Many of those unfortunate men now in prison, were not your enemies from principle : most of them compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you : neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference among the people."

"Let us refer to the debates in the Irish House of Lords, on the 19th of February last ; you will there see a patriotic and enlightened Protestant Bishop (Down) and many lay lords with manly eloquence, pleading for Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the Lord Chancellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow courtiers."

"To promote a union of brotherhood and affection among our countrymen of all religious persuasions, has been our principal object : we have sworn in the most solemn manner—have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution. To my Protestant soldiers I feel much indebted

for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause."

"Wexford, June 7th, 1798. "Edward Roche."

On the 10th of June an attack was made by some gun-boats on Feathard,\* where, after destroying all the boats mostly belonging to poor fishermen, the crews set fire to and burned several houses. This occurrence with some ships, seemingly of war, being seen off the coast, renewed the former opinion, that a landing and attack were intended, in the southern part of the country. Small camps of observation were therefore formed at Carne and Rastoonstown, to be attended by all the married men of the neighbourhood: these, it was supposed, would prove more watchful, for the protection of their wives and families by opposing the anticipated invaders; or any emergency, while all the bachelors fit for actual service, were ordered to attend at Lacken hill. In Wexford, attempts were made to manufacture gun-powder for the use of the united army of the people.

To remedy the want of that article, an attack was made upon the house of Mr. Kavanagh of Borris, Co. Carlow: however, the party of insurgents who had been deputed to that attempt, were driven off by a small force of the Donegal militia stationed in the house for its defence. They returned to camp and joined the people of their own county, those of the County Carlow being intimidated to co-operate, since the awful tragedy of 23rd May in the town of Carlow.

The tragic scenes which were committed first by the people in Wexford, and subsequently by the army, are now recorded from the history of Edward Hay Esq., this gentleman was both an eye-witness and ear-witness of the enormities which occurred at that terrible crisis of Irish suffering and disasters.

\* Feathard stands on the west side of Bailyteigue Bay, and was a borough when Ireland had her own parliament: it was near this that Stongbow landed in 1171. "Hic parat insidias ovibus gula fæda luporum." *Translated*, Here the destruction of the flocks is plotted by voracious wolves from Britain.

“A man named Dixon being appointed by the people to command as captain, the forces of the insurgents then in Wexford, assumed boisterously an authority of putting the Protestant prisoners to death ; he had two Orangemen brought forth to accuse and criminate as many as he himself would point out. Eighteen of the unhappy victims were marched to the bridge and piked. Some more being led out and conducted by a strong guard, part were piked and others shot. All were indiscriminately cast into the sea, after being put to death. The Rev. Mr. Corrin, a Catholic clergyman, having returned from the duties of his calling, hastened to the scene of murder, and happily succeeded in rescuing some prisoners from the fury of the populace. Thirty-six men were sacrificed by an infuriated multitude, which crime of murder, nothing of their own sufferings can palliate.” General Edward Roche who was chief of the insurgent army, was tried by court-martial the year following, “’98,” but pardoned for the great clemency he evinced towards several Protestant gentlemen who had fallen into the hands of the people. The fate of Rev. Philip Roche will be, by-and-by, read with horror and dismay. The merciful disposition manifested by this Catholic priest in saving many Protestant lives in the camp on Lacken-hill, will convince even the prejudiced mind, that the horrifying death inflicted on him was rather the work of demons than of British soldiers. One example will suffice to confirm the merciful disposition of Rev. P. Roche. “Two Protestants in a respectable situation of life, brothers, named Robinson, of the parish of Killeghny, were seized and carried to Vinegar-hill : some of their Roman Catholic tenants solicitous for their safety, rode to Lacken-hill camp, where Rev. Mr. Roche held the chief command, to solicit his interference : an express was immediately forwarded to Vinegar-hill : ordering the Robinsons to be sent under an escort to Lacken-hill camp. The two Robinsons got their freedom immediately, and a protection, and were permitted to return home. This being

understood by some officers in the army, that they had been pardoned and by a rebel priest, was construed into disloyalty and was nearly becoming the instrument of their own condemnation and death.\*

\* Gordon's History of " '98."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

The Three Rocks. Rev. Philip Roche. Foulkes's mill. Battle. Three armies approach Wexford.—Lord Kingsborough. General Moore. A reinforcement of troops. The Three Rocks.—Ships of war. Gun-boats. Fort of Roslare. Dispatch of Lord Kingsborough to the approaching armies. Surrender of Wexford.—Terms proposed by the people. Generals Lake and Duff. Enniscorthy, Vinegar-hill, Scullabogue.—Hay's history. Sir Jonah Barrington. Threats of General Lake.—Right Rev. Doctor Caulfield: his advice to the people. Wexford abandoned by the insurgents.—Messrs. Fitzgerald, Perry, Edward Roche. General Moore. Wexford invested by sea and land.—Wounded men in hospital massacred. Many inhabitants killed. Messrs. Edward Hay, Clooney, Mc. Manus. General Lake's reply.—June 22, "1798". Wexford threatened: horrors seen from Enniscorthy to Wexford. Histories of Gordon and Hay.—Rev. Philip Roche: too confiding in Lord Kingsborough's promises. Rev. Philip Roche cruelly butchered.—Encampment. General Needham. Immense property destroyed by the soldiery.—The Hompesch Dragoons. Hay's history. Virtuous conduct. Brutality of the soldiers.—Yeomen of Gorey. Mr. Fitzgerald. Croghan mountain. The gaols crowded. General Lake. Keogh captain. Cornelius Grogan. Bagnal Harvey.—Mr. Colelough. Saltee islands, note upon the same. Rev. Philip Roche. Captain Keogh.—Place of execution: Brutal treatment; Messrs. Grogan, Harvey, and Prendergast executed.—Trials by Court Martial.—Mr. John Kelly of Killan: his intrepidity at New Ross.—Insurgents marched into the county of Carlow. Killedmond. Mount Leinster. Gore's bridge. Reverend John Murphy. Sir Charles Asgill. Kilkenny. Castlecomer.—Ridge of Leinster. Lady Wandisford. The colliers.—Downshire militia. Causes that drove the Irish to rebellion.—Flight of the insurgents. Intrepidity displayed. King George III. and his Minister Pitt.—Scollagh-gap. General Asgill. White-heaps, Co. Wicklow

ON June 20th, about 3 o'clock P. M., the army under General Moore marched from its encampment at Long-graigue, the seat of the Rev. Mr. Sutton, towards Taghmon, and after proceeding about half-a-mile, were

met by the insurgent force from the Three Rocks, led on by their general, Rev. Philip Roche, at a place called Foulkes's mill. Each party immediately commenced the attack, which lasted with various success and determined obstinacy for four hours : the ammunition of the insurgents being at length worn out, and the pikemen not able to act, from the nature of the ground, a retreat became unavoidable : this was effected without much disorder or precipitation, carrying with them five out of six of their small cannon. The loss which the army sustained was said to be greater than that of the insurgents.

Three armies were now approaching Wexford ; they were commanded by Generals Lake, Johnston, and Moore, besides other general officers commanding some detached divisions. It would seem that the major part of the military stationed in Ireland, had been collected and marched to suppress the insurrection in Wexford county. The intrepidity and valour displayed by its inhabitants can with little difficulty convince the world, that four more counties acting as Wexford had done would have produced the downfall of Great Britain : what Sallust says, may be with justice applied to the heroes of Wexford, "*Audacia pro muro habetur*," i. e. intrepidity is in itself a bulwark. This should be a memento to the rulers of Ireland, never to impel her sons to a similar resort to arms.

The appalling scene exhibited on the bridge of Wexford, by putting so many respectable men to death, furnished just cause of alarm to the inhabitants, and also to Lord Kingsborough and fellow prisoners, whose safety was due to Captain Murphy and the brave men under him, in not allowing Dixon nor his sanguinary adherents to enter their prison in the Bull-ring. Foulkes's mill proved disastrous and discouraging : although Moore in his dispatches could not boast of having gained a bloodless victory, still the retreat of the insurgents inspired him to follow up his supposed advantages. A reinforcement of two regiments under Lord Dalhousie, coming up immediately after the battle, tended to

inspire the troops with fresh confidence, and to dispirit the insurgents on the Three Rocks.

The people in the town saw plainly that the king's troops would be soon masters of the place, whereas some ships of war and gunboats had already made a formidable appearance, and were approaching the fort of Roslarc. This was now abandoned by the men who had been stationed there as guards. To confer with Lord Kingsborough and surrender to him the military command of the town was the only alternative. All the inhabitants were speedily convened, and deputations appointed to proceed to each army on their approach; the following was the dispatch signed by Lord Kingsborough.—“That the town of Wexford had surrendered to him, and in consequence of the behaviour of those in the town, during the rebellion, they should all be protected in persons and property, murderers excepted, and those who had instigated others to commit murder; hoping that these terms might be ratified, as he had pledged his honor, in the most solemn manner, to have these terms fulfilled on the town being surrendered to him, the Wexford men not being concerned in the massacre, which was perpetrated by the country people in their absence.”

With these dispatches were enclosed a further document and proposal from the people of Wexford—

“That Captain M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulard, accompanied by Mr. Edward Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties be guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use all their influence with the people at large to return to their allegiance; and these terms, it is hoped, Captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

“Signed by order of the inhabitants,

“Matthew Keogh.

“Wexford, June 21, 1798.”

Mr. Edward Hay and Captain M'Manus were the two who had been deputed to General Lake, the commander-in-chief of the king's troops, to whom they were introduced by Major-General Sir James Duff.\* This meeting took place at Enniscorthy, being the head quarters of General Lake. The town, according to Hay's history, exhibited every mark of ruin, horror and desolation: the house which the insurgents made use of, while encamped on Vinegar-hill, as an hospital for their sick and wounded, is contrasted with Scullabogue, and, as he says, together with Sir Jonah Barrington, became a primary and impelling cause for destroying the prisoners in the barn of Scullabogue.

The insurgents who had been encamped upon the Three-rocks, after conferring together, sent some of their body into Wexford, in order to get Lord Kingsborough to come out to their camp and remain among them, until the terms which had been proposed by the people of the town would be extended to themselves, whereas if a partial surrender were carried into effect, this would militate against a general peace, and that the troops might be led out against themselves after their prisoners, viz. Lord Kingsborough and the others, would have been given up, and the town in their possession. The terrible threats thundered out by General Lake against Wexford and its people being communicated by Mr. Hay who had just returned from Enniscorthy, Lake's head quarters, alarmed the inhabitants to that extent, that they retained Lord Kingsborough, notwithstanding the remonstrances from their fellow insurgents on the Three-rocks. The Catholic Bishop of Ferns, Right Rev. Dr. Caulfield, interfered and advised that matters would remain as they had been previously arranged.

In the course of their endeavours to have Lord Kingsborough go and continue among them on the

\* This Officer's character and that of Lake are given, in pages 72 and 84, of O'Kelly's History of "98," *par nobile fratrum*, i.e. brothers in design, ignoble by their deeds.

Three-rocks, he frequently suggested, that if they would keep together in their camps, retaining their arms and making a formidable display of their force, similar terms might be expected for all the people ; that the commander-in-chief would not persist in excluding the other insurgents from a general amnesty, when he would see, that their situation and numbers were such as could not be despised, even with all his forces united.

The insurgents were at length prevailed on by the entreaties and exertions of their chiefs to quit the town of Wexford. They now divided themselves into two bodies : one under the command of the Rev. Philip Roche marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped that night at Sledagh ; the other under the conduct of Messrs Fitzgerald, Perry and Edward Roche, proceeded over the bridge to Peppard's Castle, where they took their station for that night.

General Moore's division was now in advance from Taghmon, and approaching Wexford, when finding that the insurgents had decamped from the Three-rocks, sent an express to Lord Kingsborough, and informed him, that he would not enter Wexford that day, lest the troops could not be restrained from committing those excesses the concomitants of a place given up to be pillaged and sacked by a licentious soldiery. General Moore now took his station on the windmill hills, taking every precaution, and having the advantage of a large park of artillery, while the situation itself completely commanded the town of Wexford. The Chapman sloop of war, commanded by Captain Keene, took her station outside the harbour, too shallow for her to enter, and three gun-boats were sent to attack the fort of Roslare, which was previously abandoned, and therefore they thence proceeded opposite the town, completely commanding the wooden bridge and adjacent strand ; so that Wexford was then invested both by sea and land.

On the arrival of General Moore's division, all the wounded men in the hospital were put to the sword and several of the straggling inhabitants lost their lives,

notwithstanding the express orders issued by the General, that no excesses should be committed.

At 3 o'clock, A. M. of the 22nd June, '98, the trumpet sounded for the army to march from Enniscorthy, and every one was on foot as soon as possible: shortly after this, Capt. M'Manus, Mr. Edward Hay, Mr. Clooney, and Capt. O'Kea, (the two last having arrived from the division under Needham to whom they had been deputed,) were sent for by General Lake, who only then deigned to answer the letter from the people of Wexford, and refused to give any reply to that of Lord Kingsborough. Lake's letter was couched in the following words :—

“Lieutenant-General Lake cannot attend to any terms from rebels in arms against their sovereign, while they continue so : he must use the force entrusted to him, with the utmost energy for their destruction. To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.”

[signed]

G. Lake.

“Enniscorthy, June 22nd., 1798.”

This dispatch being handed to Mr. E. Hay, he was ordered by the General to read it with attention, which being done, Mr. H. observed, that, he feared, it would not please the people, and that it differed materially from the terms already promised to them by Lord Kingsborough. This observation roused the General's angry rebuke, and threatened to annihilate Wexford and its inhabitants. Mr. Hay seeing no alternative but to acquiesce, and be the bearer of it to Wexford, an escort consisting of a troop of the Ancient Britons, with a trumpeter, commanded by captain Wynne, proceeded; on their route he beheld several corpses lying in different parts, with their bowels cut open, their heads and limbs cut off,\* according to the murdering caprice of the soldiery; even the bodies of some children lay mutilated,

\* *Undique horror et plurima mortis imago.* Virgil.

i. e. Horror on all sides, and death in many shapes appear. Virgil.

and some women. This circumstance is admitted by Mr. Gordon in his history as well as by Mr. Hay, and forcibly brought forth by both in their respective pages, how the inhabitants from Wexford to Enniscorthy were indiscriminately butchered by the troops as they marched.

Relying on the faith of Lord Kingsborough's promises of complete protection of persons and property, several remained in the town of Wexford, unconscious of any reason to apprehend danger, but they were soon taken up and committed to gaol. The Rev. Philip Roche had such confidence in those assurances, that he left his force at Sledagh, in full hopes of being permitted to return in peace to their homes, and was on his way to Wexford, unarmed; coming as he thought, to receive a confirmation of the conditions, and was so little apprehensive of danger, that he advanced within the lines, before he was recognised, when all possibility of escape was at an end.\* He was instantly dragged from his horse, and in the most ignominious manner taken up to the camp on the windmill hills, pulled by the hair, kicked, buffeted, and at length hauled down to the gaol, in such a condition as scarcely to be known. The people whom he had left in expectation of being permitted to return home in peace waited his arrival, but at last being informed of his cruel fate, they abandoned all idea of receiving pardon or protection, and set out under the command of the Rev. John Murphy to Foulkes's mill, and so on through Scol-laugh-gap into the county of Carlow.

From the encampment at Ballinkeele, commanded by General Needham, detachments were sent out to scour the country. They burned the Catholic chapel at Balemurrin, situate on the demesne of Ballinkeele, on which they were encamped, besides several houses in the neigh-

\* "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" This quotation, so familiar to the classic student, could be well applied to the tragic end of Rev. Philip Roche: he should have pondered, hesitated, and said, "I fear the greeks and their gifts." The specious assurances held out by Lord Kingsborough flattered that too confiding clergyman, to hope for pardon for himself and the men under him.

bourhood. The principal of these was Newpark, the seat of Mr. Fitzgerald, which together with all the out-offices, haggard of corn, by far the largest in the co. of Wexford, a malt-house containing 1500 barrels of malt, and 1000 barrels of barley, were entirely consumed; the same destructive measure was practised against Mr. Edmund Stafford of Ballimore: his house, offices, and malt-house containing 1000 barrels of malt, were consumed; his place and property were considered by the soldiery to have belonged to Genl. Edward Roche; many houses in the same neighbourhood shared a similar fate. Death and desolation were spread at this time over the whole face of the country, which was so hunted and searched, that no man dared to remain behind the body of the people,\* and if those decrepit with old age fell into the hands of the soldiery, they were slaughtered without mercy, the women and the children were butchered in the same manner.† The Hompisch Dragoons are held in peculiar remembrance and detestation by the inhabitants of the Co. Wexford; some young women who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, were most brutally treated: the lustful appetite of these ruffians forced submission to their ferocious will.

In Hay's history our readers will find the following. "Notwithstanding the abominations of the vilest of pikemen, it is a well established fact, that, during the period of their uncontrollable sway, no female, not even the wives or daughters of those whom they considered to be their greatest enemies, suffered any kind of violation from them, and their general respect for the sex‡, is as true as it is wonderful: their forbearance in this particular is as remarkably civilized, as the conduct of the troops was savage, sparing neither friend, sex, nor age, in their indiscriminate and licentious brutality.

\* "*Ipsa stupet tellus propriis viduata colonis.*" translated, the land is amazed, being bereft of its husbandmen.

† "*Sexus et in pretio muliebris habetur.*" translated, the female sex is loved and esteemed by the Irish.

‡ "*Infans enecatæ sugens flens ubera matris,*" O'K.'s His. D. H. translated, the weeping babe clings to the breast of its slaughtered mother.

The yeomanry corps of Gorey committed many horrifying murders in that town and its vicinity, by which excesses the insurgents who had been encamped at Peppard's castle, were roused to revenge : on approaching to the attack of Gorey, the yeomanry fled, but being hastily pursued as far as Coolgreny, forty-seven were killed by their pursuers : the loss of the insurgents was trivial. Mr. Fitzgerald whose heavy losses of property have been given above, commanded the people on this occasion. After passing a few hours in the desolate and ruined town of Gorey, the insurgents proceeded to the White-heaps on Croghan mountain, and from thence after a night's rest, proceeded to the Wicklow mountains.

General Lake with other general officers continued for some time in the town of Wexford. The gaol was densely crowded, whereas almost the whole of the principal inhabitants were taken up and arraigned for treason. Many of them were tried by court-martial and acquitted : several also received protections in consequence of the proclamation issued by Lord Cornwallis after his arrival as Lord-Lieutenant. Captain Keogh was sent to the gaol from the lodgings of Lord Kingsborough, Mr. Cornelius Grogan was arrested at his seat of Johnstown, where he remained unconscious of danger, till conducted to prison. Mr. Bagnal Harvey had gone to his seat and residence, Bargy Castle, having no apprehension that the terms agreed upon with Lord Kingsborough would not be ratified. So confident was he of the contrary, that he sent some fat cattle into Wexford for the use of the army ; but learning from the messenger who had driven them for that purpose, that no conditions whatever would be obtained, he hastened with the fatal news to Mr. Colclough. This gentleman had previously taken his wife and child to one of the Saltee Islands,\* where he thought to weather out

\* The Saltee Islands round which there is a considerable lobster and crab fishery, and which in the times of falconry, were famous for producing the best hawks, lie nine miles off the coast, opposite the bay of Ballyteigue. In the year 1823, when returning with my family from the

the storm of that angry period, in a cave into which he had gone for concealment. Thither Mr. Harvey now also resorted ; but they were all soon discovered, and the news of their being taken arrived in Wexford, while they were conveying them round to the harbour in a boat. This attracted a great number of people to the quay, curious to see them brought in ; and amidst this concourse, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Colclough and his lady were landed. The gentlemen were then led through the gazing multitude to the gaol, where they were confined in the condemned cells.

A court-martial was instituted for the trial of prisoners on a charge of treason. The Rev. Philip Roche was the first tried and condemned by this tribunal. Captain Keogh was the next put on his trial, in which he made a very able defence, but was also condemned. The entrance of the wooden bridge was the scene fixed on for the place of execution. The sufferers were hauled up with pullies made fast with ropes to an ornamental iron arch, intended for lamps, and springing from the two wooden piers of the gate next the town. The large frame of the Rev. Philip Roche caused the first rope with which he had been hauled up to break ; but another was soon procured, and his life was ended with double torture. The head of Captain Keogh who suffered along with him, was severed from the body, and conspicuously placed on a pike over the front of the court-house. Their bodies, together with others executed at the same time, were stripped and treated with the utmost brutality and indecency, previous to their being thrown over the bridge.

Mr. Grogan was brought to trial on the 26th June, but the evidence which he hoped to obtain of his innocence, did not attend, on account of the terror and

United States of America, our ship was so near to the Saltee rocks, that her situation was most perilous, in consequence of the pilot being drunk, and the captain in bed. "*Statio malefida carinis*," i.e. a place treacherous to ships. They are generally noticed upon charts for the information of mariners.

apprehensions that prevailed : his trial was therefore postponed, and he was remanded to prison. Mr. Harvey was then put upon his trial, which lasted for the greater part of the day, and ended in his condemnation. Mr. Grogan's trial was then resumed, but this he did not expect until the next day, and consequently had not been able to procure the necessary evidence. It had been indeed proved, that he was forced to join the insurgents, but this did not prevent his conviction ; such was the plan at this awful crisis, to make public examples. The condemnation of these gentlemen, was afterwards confirmed by the Irish parliament, and an act of attainder was passed upon them, and a confiscation of their properties : the manifest injustice which prevailed in their trials was and is obvious to all, whereas the members who had composed that nefarious tribunal had not been sworn.

On the 27th of June, Messrs Harvey, Grogan, and Prendergast (a rich maltster in the town of Wexford,) were ordered out to execution. When Mr. Harvey was brought out of his cell, he met Mr. Grogan in the gaol yard, and accosting him, shook him by the hand, at the same time, saying aloud, in the hearing of some officers and guards, "you, poor Grogan, die an innocent man." They were then conducted to the bridge, where they were hanged, when the heads of Messrs Grogan and Harvey were cut off and placed upon pikes, on each side of that of Captain Keogh ; their bodies had been treated with the same brutal indignities practised on the person of the Rev. Philip Roche, by these monsters of "'98."

Mr. Colclough was brought out to trial on the same day, and condemned. On the day following he was executed, but his body, at the intercession of his lady, was given to her to be interred.

Mr. John Kelly of Killan,\* whose courage and un-

\* The intrepidity of John Kelly at the battle of Ross, has been and ever will be a theme of genuine valour. "Quis enim vel gesta recentia nescit?" To whom are not known his late deeds of heroism? To his

daunted bravery had been so conspicuous, at the battle of Ross, now lay ill in Wexford, of a wound which he had received in that engagement : he was taken prisoner from his bed, tried, and condemned to die, and brought upon a car to the place of execution. His head was cut off, and his body, after the accustomed indignities, was thrown over the bridge. The head, however, was reserved for additional insult and indignities : it was first kicked about on the Custom-house-quay, and then brought into the town, thrown up and kicked as a foot ball, opposite the house in which his sister lodged, that she might view this new and savage game at foot-ball : after this brutal and ferocious treatment, the head was fastened on a pike, above that of Captain Keogh, over the door of the court-house.

The insurgents who had marched west of Slaney, under the command of the Rev. John Murphy, marched for the county of Carlow, and entered it through Scol-laugh-gap : their passage was opposed by a small party of military whom they quickly dispersed, and after putting them to flight, they burned Killedmond, a village on the Carlow side of Mount Leinster : from hence they proceeded to Gore's-bridge, where they arrived on the morning of 23rd June, and there met with a small body of Wexford Militia, of whom they made 28 prisoners, the remainder, besides cavalry that were stationed in it, fled precipitately to Kilkenny.

Sir Charles Asgill marched a large body of troops from Kilkenny, and arrived at Gore's-bridge, to oppose the further progress of the insurgents, but they were considerably in advance for Castlecomer, whither they had intended previously to proceed, in order to rouse the colliers, on whose numbers they had vainly calculated to cooperate. The Wexford men on their route for the collieries which lie contiguous to that town, rested for a night on a high mountain land, which is called the

tragical end the following line can be fitly applied—"Non habet ira modum, vel nostra injuria finem!"

*Translated*—Anger exercised against him, had no bounds nor his sufferings an end.

ridge of Leinster, and early next day, when approaching Castlecomer, met a body of troops supposed to be about 450 men. These were readily repulsed, but a thick fog springing up, the insurgents were retarded in their pursuit and were soon overtaken by the force under Asgill. A discharge of grape shot caused confusion among the ranks of the people, notwithstanding, which they entered the town on fire, and forced the military to retreat to the barracks and to the house of Lady Wandisford, which enabled them to annoy and repel the insurgents. Asgill, in the evening, from an apprehension that the colliers would come in force and join, ordered the troops under him to retreat, and thus abandoned the town to the Wexford men, who plundered it and took all the horses in the Wandisford stables, to carry their fatigued comrades.

The hopes of any aid from the colliers soon vanished. These intrepid men from Wexford, having, after abandoning Castlecomer, stopped for a night in the heart of the collieries, found themselves in the morning, stripped of their arms, &c., being literally robbed of them, their ammunition and everything which their deceitful countrymen, the colliers, could carry into their pits and caves. No alternative now remained for the deluded and too confiding Wexford men but to make an effort and get back into their own country, to seek protections already issuing from the King's Generals stationed in Wexford, Ross, and Enniscorthy. "*Hic labor, hoc opus.*" To get back was the labour and difficulty. They now marched despairing and desponding for Gore's Bridge, and encamped the same night on Kilcomney hill, and before morning were surrounded by 500 of the Downshire Militia, commanded by Major Mathews and a further reinforcement under General Asgill, who though he had retreated to Kilkenny, marched again in pursuit of the Wexford insurgents, whose valiant career will ever stand recorded as the bravest of the brave Irish, who might have exclaimed, when free quarters, flogging, burning, and the pitch-cap, forced them to resist oppres-

sion, "moiamur et in media arma ruamus,"\* let us die and rush to battle.

A thick fog prevented the people from seeing their danger. On the morning of the 26th they experienced a severe discharge of cannon, on the side where they purposed to make a stand, and immediately after, another attack on an opposite direction threw them into complete disorder; the route of the insurgents became general and they fled with precipitation. Their total overthrow was prevented only by the bravery of a small body of their men who had been mounted on horseback, and who withstood a superior force of cavalry, belonging to the King's troops: these were never found to be very ardent to engage the insurgents when any determined display was manifested by them to resist. It was against the unarmed † that the troops of George III., particularly the cavalry, displayed most their thirst for the blood of the Irish, which was, alas! profusely shed by Pitt, the King his master and their adherents.

The slaughter on this occasion was immense, but it is handed down as a matter of tradition, among the inhabitants adjoining Kilcomney hill, that the people of the surrounding district suffered most, on that occasion; the Wexford men by the intrepid display of their few comrades on horseback, to oppose the cavalry that pursued them, were enabled to get beyond the reach of the cannon and musketry of General Asgil's forces intent upon the havoc and extermination of the Wexford insurgents. They glutted, however, to satiety their savage thirst for blood with the murder of the country people around: plunder likewise accompanied the footsteps of the soldiery, and nothing within their reach escaped

\* Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem. Virgil. *Translated*—Let us die. &c., the only hope for the vanquished is to expect no quarter.

† The carnage perpetrated upon the rath of the Curragh of Kildare, as already noticed, substantiates fully what the King's Cavalry were capable of: when the defenceless Kildaremen had surrendered their arms and were kneeling by General Duff's orders, this monster in human form butchered them like wild beasts; 325 fell beneath his murderous sword.

their licentious and blood-stained hands. This body of Wexford insurgents, after again forcing their passage back through Scollagh-gap, against some troops who endeavoured to oppose them, never made their appearance again, as the people dispersed and retired to their homes, except a few who joined their associates in the county of Wicklow.

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### CHAPTER XIX.

Village of Aughrim. Blessington. Ballymanus. Note on Mr. G. Byrne and his brother.—Hacketstown: battle. Mr. M. Reynolds of Naas. Attempt to burn the barracks. The attack on Hacketstown. Its founders.—General Needham and the Ancient Britons: defeat of those exterminating soldiers. Another victory of the insurgents.—General Duff: many slain. Many of the Wexford and Wicklow men marched through Kildare county.—Insurgent officers arrested. Clonard on the Boyne: defeat of the insurgents. Ridgeway and Robinson, Edenderry. Trial of Captain Perry, and Rev. Mr. Kearns.—Messrs. Fitzgerald and Byrne. General Moore. Dwyer and Lord Powerscourt. General Dundas. Perfidy against Dwyer. Carlow attacked; defeat of the insurgents. Sir W. Crosbie: cruel treatment. Stradbally yeomen. Athy executions.—Attack upon Carlow. Number killed. Many burned in the houses; the dead buried in sand-pits.—Sir William Crosbie executed; his condemnation most unjust. Colonel Mahon's insults against Lady Crosbie.—Murphys, brothers. Paddy the pointer. Two yeomen carried their death warrant. The village of Ballickmyler and Rev. John Whitty.—The assailants upon Whitty repulsed. Colonel Fane and the Stradbally yeomen. Athy.—Ben. Wullox. Captain Rawson. The burning of the chapel of Athy. Men hanged at Athy. Colonel Campbell, and Rawson's yeomen. Mr. Johnston of Ballytore. An Apothecary butchered.—Insurrection in County Antrim. M'Cracken. Teeling's memoirs. Donegal and Derry. Rev. W. Steele Dickson.—Lord O'Neill. General Nugent. Belfast. Colonel Lumley. Blaris Camp. Lord Massarene. Attack upon Antrim.—Lord O'Neill. M'Cracken. Commander in the County Down. Saintfield. General Nugent.—Ballinahinch. Monroe. Ednevady-hill. M'Cance. Downpatrick. Windmill-hill. General Barber.—Monroe. 700 guns-men left Monroe. Defeat and retreat.—Ballinahinch pillaged. The fate of Monroe. Lisburn. Many join the ranks of the Orangemen. Great Britain.—Battle of Tara. Lord Fingall. Battle of Wilson's Hospital, Westmeath. Lord Longford.—Arguile Fencibles Killala. Castlebar. French soldiers. Kilbeggan. Curragh of Kildare. Duffy.—Kilbeggan attacked: the people defeated.—Four young brothers named Marshalls and Grahams shot by Kilbeggan yeomen, the day after the battle.

The other body of the Wexford men who had proceeded, after the attack upon Gorey to the Whitechaps, in

the county of Wicklow, set off on the morning of the 23rd, towards the lead mines. While resting in a posture of defence, upon an eminence near the place, they perceived a body of troops in the hollow beneath, and these fired some bomb-shells at them, from the opposite side of a river. The insurgents having no cannon, retreated towards Monaseed, where they halted part of that night, and arrived on the morning of the 24th at Donard, which they found deserted. There they waited some time for refreshment, and then moved towards Glanmullen, where they met a small party of cavalry, who fled at their approach. They found the village of Aughrim laid waste, and many dead bodies bearing marks of cruelty. From this place they proceeded to Blessington, and though they mostly rested by day, and marched in the night, to avoid the pursuit of a body of cavalry that was perceived to follow them, and was generally in view; they encamped for a night at Ballymanus, where they united their force with that of Mr. Garret Byrne.\*

The Wexford and Wicklow men, after this, proceeded on the morning of the 25th towards Hacketstown, which they were approaching at 7 o'clock in the morning. The military were drawn up in a small field outside the town, ready to receive them, but they were forced to give way, after they had lost Captain Hardy and four

\* Billy Byrne, who was made a victim to the capricious cruelty of General Eustace, and perfidiously put to death, after having made his terms of surrender, was brother to Mr. Garret Byrne. In personal appearance he excelled most men of his time; he was tall, athletic and handsome: his figure was fine and commanding, he was in union with Rev. Michael Murphy, (who was torn by a cannon shot in the action) chief commander of the insurgents at the battle of Arklow. The intrepid manner in which he rode at the head of his men, in leading them on to the attack, proved beyond all doubt, that his courage was of a superior order.

The pardon of Billy Byrne had been already sanctioned by the Lord-lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, and had reached Arklow, which as soon as General Eustace understood, hastened his execution; he was most treacherously hanged so early as 8 o'clock, in the morning after the pardon had arrived. They are said by the old people, who knew from traditional accounts the origin and respectability of all the Byrne families of the County Wicklow, to have been worthy of precedence to all the families of their name in that county.

of the Hacketstown yeomen;\* the pikemen were crossing a river same time, to attack the town on all sides. The cavalry retreated and kept aloof during the remainder of the action. The Infantry, however, consisting of about 150 men, retired into the barrack and into an adjoining malt-house, from which they powerfully annoyed the insurgents in their nearer approach to the town: a few soldiers who had been stationed in the house of the Rev. Mr. M'Gee, did great execution among their ranks, as it commanded the main street, and protected part of the barrack, which was considered most assailable.

To burn the barracks was now decided upon. The most intrepid, among the ranks of the people, for that purpose, was Mr. Michael Reynolds of Johnstown, near Naas, which he and his men bravely attacked on 23rd May, on which night the insurrection burst forth, by this courageous County Kildare-man: this has been already introduced. Mr. Reynolds had a ladder raised against the barrack roof, and being covered with a feather bed, he had nearly reached the summit of the ladder carrying fire, when a musket-ball struck him in the belly and forced him to descend: this wound proved fatal: he was carried by his companions to a cabin at a distance, and after a few days he expired. By this accident to Reynolds the burning of the barracks was abandoned. After fighting for nine hours, the insurgents having lost many of their brave men in their attack on Hacketstown, they withdrew and marched to Blessington, where they encamped for that night: the troops also who had repulsed the attack on Hacketstown, abandoned the place and proceeded to Tullow in the County of Carlow; the loss of the soldiers on that day was small, having but ten killed and twenty wounded.

After the failure of the attack on Hacketstown, the insurgent force prepared to proceed to the Wicklow mountains; in the meanwhile they contemplated to

\* The first founders of that town so called by the family-name, were the ancestors of Michael Hackett, Esq. of Sackville-street.

reduce Carnew and wrest it from the army. General Needham apprehending this, sent some of the ancient Britons and a corps of yeomen cavalry to intercept them : by a *ruse de guerre* of waggons, &c. and their gunsmen placed in ambuscade, that cavalry on whom Needham calculated so strongly, was defeated with the loss of Captain Giffard and eighty men of the privates ; a black trumpeter shared their fate, from the people's horror of the ancient Britons, whereas this blackman fell into their hands after the battle : not a man of the insurgents fell in this affair : those of the soldiers who escaped did not cease to fly till they reached Arklow.

On July 2nd, the insurgents moved in the direction of Shillelah and took post on the hill of Ballyraheen : thither they were pursued by some corps of yeomen, but pouring down upon them from the hill, seventy privates were slain, and two of their officers named Chamney and Nixon. The insurgents after this fixed themselves near the White-heaps at the foot of Croghan mountain : from whence they proceeded towards Wicklow-gap, and were met on the morning of the 5th by Sir James Duff, of woful memory to the people of Kildare. No alternative remained but the sword, and as classically expressed, "*via ferro rumpenda per hostes.*" i. e. the sword must open a way through the enemy. Duff's ranks were soon thinned, eighty of his troopers were slain, but the murderer of the Kildare victims on the rath of the Curragh escaped.

After this battle had been fought, several of the united forces separated and returned home to seek protections for themselves and families. A good number however still clung together, and headed by Messrs. Fitzgerald, Byrne, Perry, and the Rev. Mr. Kearns, moved into the County of Kildare, and proceeding through Robertstown and Prosperous, they contemplated to be able to penetrate into the counties of Meath and Westmeath. The defeat of the Kildaremen at the battle of Ovidstown, fought on June 1st, under Aylmer, Luby, and Ware, so disheartened the inhabitants

that few of the people would march to co-operate with these intrepid men from Wexford and Wicklow.

As Meath and Westmeath were the ulterior object of the above few officers from Wicklow and Wexford, Clonard situated on the river Boyne must, in their calculation, be passed, where, when they had arrived, a determined and destructive fire of musketry was kept up from a fortified house of Captain Tyrrel: a numerous reinforcement having arrived from Mullingar and Kinnegad, the attack was abandoned after a severe loss of lives to the assailants. This remnant of heroism consisting principally of Wexford and Wicklow men, began to separate, some escaping by devious ways the sword of their pursuers: however, this was not the fate of all. Their brave leader, Colonel Perry, and the Rev. Mr. Kearns, were both met with at Clonbollogue by Capts. Ridgeway and Robinson, long famed for their prejudice to *papists*, and the chief leaders of orange principles in Edenderry: after being conducted to the guard-house, a summary trial under the specious name of court-martial, was commenced by these *worthies* and fomentors of persecution; the gallows was ordered to be the doom of Perry and Rev. Mr. Kearns. An apparent feeling for Perry was evinced by the orange party, because a protestant; but an exulting sneer broke forth for Rev. Mr. Kearns as being a rebel priest as they defined him, in Musgrave's history—*requiescat in pace*.

Messrs. Fitzgerald and Byrne after various hardships gained the Wicklow mountains, but surrendered themselves soon afterwards to General Moore; and being sent to the Castle of Dublin they obtained permission to reside upon the Continent: a Mr. Ryan of Wexford co. was less successful: he had obtained a protection, but was dragged to trial and put to death the day after his arrival in Wexford; he saved many lives on the fatal day when many were put to death on the bridge of Wexford, and some of the very men whom he had saved proved his bitterest enemies on the day of his arrest: the morning following he was mercilessly hanged,

although the written protection of General Dundas was in his possession.

Dwyer continued for five years to annoy the government, and many providential escapes occurred to him in that short space ; he surrendered to Lord Powerscourt and was removed to the Castle of Dublin : he intended to proceed to the United States, but was, contrary to treaty, sent in a convict ship to Botany Bay, where he died. Holt and his confederates were said by the country people to have followed up a system of plunder, and that robbery rather than resistance to oppression was the chief and leading features of their career.

The scene of horror which now opens in our history to the view of the reader, equals in sanguinary recital everything that has been given in the preceding pages.

Carlow, the chief town of the county of that name, stands on the river Barrow, and lies forty-two miles S.W. of Dublin. From its being the thoroughfare from the metropolis to Cork, Waterford, Clonmel, and Kilkenny, its inhabitants are rendered active, fashionable, and enterprising : it has two public markets in the week, and is celebrated for the fertility of its gardens, and the superabundant supply of the best onions in the kingdom. The Carlow butter and bacon, which are exported to London, Cadiz, Lisbon, &c., and to other markets of Europe, have established the character of that town as a great provision mart. Besides these natural advantages, the facility of water conveyance for its produce to Dublin and Waterford, would make Carlow, under a fostering government, a place truly worthy of commercial enterprise.

On May 25th, "'98," at the early hour of about two o'clock, A.M., a numerous body of insurgents from the parts that are contiguous to Tullow, Ballybar, and Leighlin, assembled on the demesne belonging to Sir Edward William Crosbie, Bart., and, after a short deliberation, determined to march against Carlow and make themselves masters of the place. These undisciplined men, badly advised and still worse led on, literally

marched to be slaughtered like sheep or swine. The above demesne is within one and a half mile of the town, and so sure were they of becoming speedily masters of it, that they fired a shot and killed one of those who had joined in the general movement. This imprudent signal roused the garrison of the place, and being accompanied with exulting shouts, that the town would soon be their own, sufficient alarm was caused to the army and Orange-men to stand to their arms and repel the assailants. This force of insurgents amounted, it was said, to about twelve hundred men; they entered the town and had got as far as the potatoe-market, when the troops sallied out of the horse-barracks, and began to fire with destructive effect. On the part of the insurgents a dastardly torpor displayed itself: neither pike nor gun appeared to be applied to defend themselves: they were in the midst of their sanguinary opponents, whom they outnumbered by one half: no effort was even made to escape. The streets and lanes were in a few minutes filled with dead and dying men, whose mangled bodies amounting to 475, were put upon carts and thrown into three gravel pits near Graigue-bridge. A quantity of quick lime was then spread over these victims of Carlow town. Several of the countrymen burst into some houses in Tullow-street, which being set on fire by the soldiers, all perished in the flames.

The same day of the carnage and conflagration in Carlow several executions took place. Sir E. W. Crosbie was dragged into the town, where he was put upon his trial before a Court-martial composed of two captains, seven lieutenants, a cornet and an ensign.

It has been admitted even by prejudiced writers on "'98," that the death of this respectable gentleman was an atrocious murder, and that instead of encouraging the insurgents who had assembled in his lawn to proceed in their attack upon the town, he addressed them from his window, and besought them to disperse and return to their homes. Sir Edward was kept the first night in the guard-house; the next morning at an

early hour his trial commenced before some, (except a few) *imberbes juvenes*, beardless officers ; he was immediately condemned to death and to be beheaded, which awful sentence was quickly carried into effect. While rage and tyranny were going on hand-in-hand against him, Lady Crosbie knowing the innocence of her husband, dispatched his herdsman and a maid servant to prove their master's innocence : this effort to protect him from the malignity of his enemies was of no avail : the faithful servants were debarred from entering by the bayonet of the sentinel, and after a short interval of about an hour and half, Sir Edward Crosbie was condemned, hanged, and beheaded. Colonel Mahon was the officer in command : after the murder of her husband, he rode to the house of Lady Crosbie, insulted her outrageously and threatened free quarters : she had to fly to England from the threats of that murderous officer and the other assassins of her husband.

A yeoman named Haydon has been egregiously misrepresented by Musgrave and others, who set forth that he collected and influenced the countrymen to enter the town ; and that when the army appeared to be mowing down their already-conquered victims, he turned likewise against them : that he put on his military habiliments and fought against those whom he had led to the slaughter : he was taken the same day of Sir. E. Crosbie's arrest, and was hanged and beheaded.

After Haydon's execution, two Murphys, brothers, (one a sergeant in a yeomanry corps,) were sworn against to have been deeply implicated ; they, and other respectable men named Kelly, Kane, and Borris, were all executed ; besides these now named, several were sworn against by a wretch called Paddy the pointer, and suffered the same cruel fate of their fellow-townsmen. Two cavalry yeomen from Tullow, brothers, named Deerans, were sent to Carlow, bearing a letter as if it were an express : this proved to be their own death warrant. On their entrance into the horse barrack, the letter being delivered, they were commanded to dismount ; a ser-

geant' sguard was instantly ordered to execute the purport of the letter of which these two brothers were the bearers : without further remonstrance or delay, they were commanded to kneel down and were shot.

Within five miles of Carlow at a village called Ballymyler, an attack was made by the men of Slaty upon the house of the Rev. John Whitty, who was captain of a yeomanry corps. The fate of Carlow was not yet known to the Slaty-men who were headed by a courageous farmer named Billy Murphy. Whitty had already mustered his yeomen, who were protected by the under windows being made strong with mason work, as the Clonard yeomen had been when attacked by the Wicklow and Wexford insurgents. Rev. J. Whitty succeeded triumphantly in beating off the assailants : they had nearly succeeded in setting fire to the hall door with a car-load of straw ; some were shot by the besieged—it was said that eighteen of the countrymen had fallen, and not a yeoman touched, although several shots had been fired into the upper windows,

The Stradbally yeomen under Captain Marsh, and a troop of horse commanded by Col. Fane, were instrumental to have saved Whitty's house, whereas on their appearance, the assailants fled and returned no more.\* A yeoman named Empey was returning after bringing to Stradbally an express for succour : he was assailed at Castletown church and piked : a very decent and well conducted farmer called Keating of Old-court, was tried the following assizes at Maryboro' and found guilty for the death of Empey : an *alibi* proved in Keating's favor could not save him from the gallows ; such were the sanguinary principles of jurors in '98. Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi, i. e. subjects are made to feel the mad system of their rulers.

Trials by court-martial were frequent during '98. At Athy, which stands 10 miles nth. of Carlow and 32 S.W. of Dublin, no fewer than seven men were tried,

\* A countryman named Collins was butchered on the hills of Sleelough, by the *Stradbally yeomen*, returning from Whitty's.

convicted and hanged by Rawson and his orange corps of yeomen. These victims were from the district of Narraghmore, and all well known to Captain Rawson. The brother of Walsh who suffered at Naas the cruel death as already described, was hanged in company with young Bell of the Curragh, a graduate of Trinity College, and the body man of Colonel Keating, together with four others ; two of these were beheaded, and the heads placed upon the old gaol, served as a target for the yeomen of Rawson, who frequently fired at them from the adjoining bridge. The R. C. Chapel of Athy was set fire to and consumed, by a yeoman called Ben Wullox : a malt house given by Mrs. Dowley as a temporary place for worship was likewise burned : a small barn was then substituted and escaped the orange fire-brand. A most cruel murder was perpetrated at Ballytore by a party of Col. Campbell's soldiers and Rawson's yeomen. A surgeon and apothecary named Johnston, was called out of his house and stabbed by those nefarious military men, Col. Campbell and Capt. Rawson looking on and sanctioning by their presence the awful murder of Mr. Johnston.\*

#### PARTIAL INSURRECTION IN ULSTER.

In the county of Antrim, the insurgents began to move on the 6th. June, '98, and mustered under M'Cracken.† Before his appointment to command the united army of Antrim, he, to whom the people looked to be their leader, resigned his command, and this filled their minds with apprehensions for the issue of the conflict rapidly approaching, which was to be fought with

\* Mr. Hugh Cullen, near Ballytore, and his man, being in a sand-pit for concealment, were surrounded by the Ballylinam yeomen ; Cullen fired a blunderbuss, knocked down the serjeant : the whole corps fled, and Cullen was arrested. Mr. W. O'Hara rode to General Dundas, obtained an order to have him tried by the civil law ; he was acquitted at the assizes of Naas, for having spared the serjeant who had fallen.

† He was one of those arrested in Belfast during the autumn of '96, and got out of the Castle of Dublin in '97, under heavy bail. He was a wealthy cotton manufacturer of that town and a genuine patriot. He belonged to the sect of Presbyterians.

the king's troops. It appears from "Teeling's memoirs," that M'Cracken was brave and determined. He was chosen to fill the place of another man who had relinquished the people's cause. It was calculated upon by M'Cracken, that the counties of Donegal and Derry would rise at the same time, and that Down headed by Rev. Wm. Steele Dickson would likewise co-operate.

Impatient to begin, M'Cracken commenced his march, and having formed his force into three distinct parts—the gunsmen formed the van, the pikemen were in the centre, and in the rear were two pieces of brass cannon, which were committed to some of the old volunteers not unacquainted with how they should be applied. In each of these three bodies of united Irishmen green banners were displayed, and bugles and fifes played as they marched along. The town of Antrim was their primary object of attack, in order to open the communication with the west.

On the day of the insurrection, Lord O'Neil being governor of the county, he and the magistrates were to assemble in the town of Antrim, and to adopt precautionary measures against the rising of the people, which as everything portended, was about to take place. An express arrived from General Nugent in Belfast, on the morning of the 7th of June, that an attempt would be made by the people, on that day, to take Antrim: at about two o'clock, P.M. a numerous body was seen to approach the town, whose strong out-posts of yeomanry, commanded by the Earl of Massarene, were stationed to repel the invaders. An attack had been already commenced with a most determined obstinacy on both sides. At length a reinforcement of troops commanded by Colonel Lumley, arrived from Blaris camp, and a furious attack was made upon his dragoons, who charged along the street: the lanes and houses, being in possession of the people, the cavalry was nearly defeated, and Colonel Lumley and two officers were carried off wounded, besides twenty of his men who lay dead upon the street. The two pieces of cannon worked by the vol-

unteers raked with considerable effect some of the yeomanry corps who had not been under cover of Lord Massarene's wall.

The fight continued obstinate for about three hours, when the undisciplined countrymen began to give way ; of this panic the army availed themselves, and pursued the flying insurgents with destructive carnage. Between four and five hundred men fell during the attack and pursuit. Lord O'Neill himself was piked and died at Earl Massarene's ten days after the battle. M'Cracken's men, except a few who clung faithfully to him, for a few days after the battle, dispersed. He was taken prisoner himself and carried to Belfast. Here he was tried, condemned, executed, quartered and beheaded. His mother and sisters attended the horrible scene of butchery that was ferociously acted upon the body of M'Cracken : they received it cut into quarters in their aprons from the bloody hands of the monster his executioner.

After the arrest of the Rev. William Steele Dickson, Monroe was chosen to be the leader of the United Irishmen in the County of Down : and although the rising in the County Antrim had been subdued, after the defeat at Antrim, the men of Down, eager to redeem their character so prominent in the United cause, they assembled at Saintfield in great numbers. General Nugent marched from Belfast on June 11th, with considerable force, having six pieces of cannon and two howitzers. On his approach the insurgents being disconcerted in their object, they were forced to act according to circumstances, and kept to the Saintfield side of Ballinahinch, which was Monroe's object to attack and become master of it. M'Cance was placed by Monroe behind the fences. Monroe drew up his main body on the top of Ednevady-hill, consisting of about 7,000. This hill is in a south-west direction, and the windmill station occupied by M'Cance, was a North-east position. The country was fired by the British as they marched. A force was dispatched by Monroe to an opposite direc-

tion to engage the attention of the army and to oppose those on their march from Downpatrick. These latter joined Nugent, and by a preconcerted plan and signal from cannon, they avoided the ambuscade laid by Monroe. Some shells and shot from the Artillery forced a post to retreat to Windmill-hill, which from its height was not easy to be attacked by the troops. Monroe did not consider Windmill-hill tenable against the Artillery of General Barber, and resolved, therefore, to concentrate his force upon the Ednevady.

General Nugent's force and several corps of yeomanry entered the town of Ballinahinch, where they passed the night in a loose and disorderly manner, which being perceived, Monroe was advised by his brother officers to attack them in the night: to this proposal Monroe was opposed, and this obstinacy was the cause of 700 of his best gunsmen to withdraw themselves before morning. June 13th, Monroe marched early in the morning, after forming his force into two divisions, and had with him, ten small pieces of ship cannon. Nugent's troops were compact and formed in a square; their first fire was very destructive to the division which was nearest, but their officer having fallen, the army retreated into the tower, and a signal was sounded for them to evacuate it. This signal being heard by the insurgents, they supposed it to signify a fresh charge, and being enveloped in smoke they were unable to perceive a manifest disorder among the troops.

From this state of things, the discomfiture and flight of the insurgents arose. The discipline of the troops was restored, and perceiving the countrymen flying, they returned to the charge, and numbers fell under the murdering weapons of their pursuers. After this Ballinahinch was given up to pillage, &c. Monroe not being able to muster his men, retreated with about 150 to the hill of Ednevady, and from here he endeavoured to escape: but the allurements of reward soon caused his discovery—he was betrayed, taken and brought to Lisburn his native town: here his fate was soon decided

by court-martial : he was hanged and beheaded, and the head stuck upon a pike, placed on the top of the court-house, in view of his mother, wife, and sister.

After the battles of Antrim and Ballinahinch, no insurrectionary movement occurred in the north of Ireland. Many who had joined in the ranks of the people, fell off by degrees, and became embodied in the ranks of the Orangemen of Ulster, as planned by Pitt, to accomplish his nefarious measure of the union. "Divide et imperia," i. e., divide and rule them, having been and still continues to be the settled policy of England towards Ireland for the last seven centuries ; this furnishes to every reflecting mind amongst the Roman Catholic population, that no pity nor commiseration need be ever looked for from her "*injusta noverca*" Great Britain.

The battle of Tara in Meath entirely crushed the rebellion in that quarter ; the people in the districts which were adjoining, assembled on May 26th, "'98," to fight, as they imagined, the proudest battle that Ireland could record in that eventful year : the insurgents of Meath were completely routed with considerable loss ; they made a brave stand for two or three hours, and advanced to meet the troops as they proceeded up the hill. Few leaders of experience or valour were amongst them, therefore it cannot be imputed to the men of Meath generally, that they wanted either courage or disposition to co-operate in rescuing their country from oppression.\*

In Westmeath the battle which was called that of Wilson's Hospital, was fought on 6th of September, "'98." This was a charitable Protestant institution, for maintaining twenty old men and one hundred boys : it was endowed with ample funds for their support ; a

\* Lord Fingall and the Navan yeomen cavalry were amongst the most prominent of their opposers. No quarter was given : between three and four hundred of the Meath-men fell on the sad day of the battle of Tara. An immense grave was dug by the troops, which can be viewed by persons going thither, and most of the bodies of those victims thrown into it. Requiescant in pace. AMEN.

considerable quantity of arms being placed there as a depot, a numerous body of insurgents became masters of the Hospital after a short resistance of the inmates : the day following, Lord Longford at the head of four corps of yeomen, a party of Scotch highlanders and the Argyle fencibles, drove out these new possessors of Wilson's Hospital ; this trivial battle was of momentous consequence to the government, whereas, the French force that had landed at Killala, were at the same time marching for Dublin after their rout of the English troops at Castlebar : had they arrived at where it is called the Crooked Wood, numbers, it was asserted, amounting to forty thousand, would have joined the French standard on their march to Dublin. The County Monaghan promised, by its deputies dispatched to meet the French, a body of twenty thousand ; and Longford, Westmeath and Meath would produce such numbers as like a torrent would sweep all before them.

The tragical scene of murder which was perpetrated in and near the town of Kilbeggan, county Westmeath, a few days subsequent to the carnage on the rath of the Curragh of Kildare, will affect every mind that feels for the misfortunes of men, and abhors the brutal ferocity of the murderer, who will be held in perpetual execration and abhorrence. In the course of conduct pursued during several weeks by the Orangemen of Kilbeggan, it fell to the lot of a farmer named Duffy to be visited by these flagrant intruders. The brother of this landholder was the parish priest, and his furniture consisting of a bureau, &c., being searched by the leader of these orange miscreants, a sum of money was discovered which he very deliberately put into his pocket and made his own. Something then in the shape of arms was to be made out to palliate their crime : two long poles construed by them to be pike handles being found, and which were previously used in an eel fishery belonging to Duffy, the house was instantly set fire to, and all the furniture belonging to both brothers was consumed.

This scene of fright soon congregated numbers of the surrounding peasantry to view or subdue the flames : their priest was loved, revered and respected. A determination was immediately entered into by the people to be revenged for the injury and insult committed against their priest : it was resolved to collect what forces they could muster to attack Kilbeggan and its pernicious crew of Orangemen. A numerous assemblage therefore of about three thousand marched, early the following morning, against their enemies at Kilbeggan, where they had been well prepared to resist. Besides eighty of the Black horse from Tullamore, commanded by General Dunn, who arrived at the moment of the attack, there were troops already in the town, viz.—the Northumberland fencibles and yeomen, making a body of at least two hundred military in all. A speedy discomfiture of the countrymen ensued ; several of them now running and striving to effect their escape, were overtaken and mercilessly butchered by these Englishmen, Orangemen and dragoons.

Scarcely had the carnage of the flying insurgents ceased, when six of the most ferocious among the Orangemen sallied forth, and having seized two young brothers named Marshalls, and two other brothers named Grehams, they made the four kneel together, and without either cause or provocation, instantly shot and bayonnetted these four young persons within view of their parents. The deliberate murder of the Kilbeggan men did not stop here ; the day following another batch of Orange assassins, eager to satiate their thirst for blood, made out a list of names obnoxious to each of them : they then proceeded to the houses of their victims and murdered seven men at their own doors, having called them out to give an account of what part they had acted during the attack upon the town. The name of one among the Orange party concerned in the above murders, was Tom Belton, of great notoriety among the yeomen of Kilbeggan.

Let another Musgrave now start up and contradict,

if he can, any one of the scenes of horror brought forth in this compendious work. We challenge any of the abettors of Orange outrage, or any of their descendants either to extenuate or call in question the [deeds] of iniquity during '98, which are now laid before the public.

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## CHAPTER XX.

Advice to the youth of Ireland. Military organization. Queen's Co. '97—'98. Messrs. Kelly and Brien, delegates in the United Cause.—Mr. John Hardin; Mr. Lalor; Ballinakill yeomen. Lord de Vesey and Captain Pigott. Mr. Hardin flogged. General Asgill and his lady: she was bribed by the father of Hardin.—Mount Mellick, eleven men and a boy hanged: Lord Maryboro' looking on exultingly.—Mountrath. Murder near Cobler's castle. The butchery of Collins. Stradbally yeomen.—The French Generals Hoche and Humbert in '96 and '98.—Hoche's address to his army, in French and English.—General Humbert landed at Killala: defeated the King's troops at Castlebar: defeat and surrender of the French at Ballynamuck; many who joined the French shot and hanged.—The triumphant career of the French after landing; during twenty days and more.—Humbert's address to the Irish, dated Castlebar; provisional government instituted by the French General, for Connaught.—Citizen John Moore to be president. An army intended to be organized. The English declared to be the *common enemy*.—Detail of the arrival of the French in Killala.—Battle of Castlebar: defeat of the English army. A ball given by the French officers to the ladies of Castlebar.—Same subject with further details.—General Humbert writes to the French minister for reinforcements.—General Humbert's last letter from Ireland to the French Directory. Sir Jonah Barrington.

Let our young countrymen ponder, and avoid being ever seduced to countenance attempts at revolution and civil warfare similar to those which have deluged the green fields of Erin with the blood of her people, during that sad, sorrowful and eventful epoch.\*

In the Queen's county many murders and deeds of

\* "Hic matres miseræque nurus, hic chara sororum  
Pectora mærentum; puerique parentibus orbi.  
Dirum execrantur bellum."—Virg. *Æn.* lib. II. p. 215.

*Translated.*—Here mothers, wives, and sisters, in sorrow and in grief; here the youth bereft of their fathers, hold direful war in execration,

outrage were committed by the Orange faction, which then swayed the destiny of their Catholic fellow subjects, in several of the towns, and exercised against them every species of torture and persecution. During the winter of '97-'98, the United Irishmen of this county outnumbered those of Kildare, and the military organization in it was complete. The delegates, Mr. Lawrence Kelly of Rosanallis,\* and Banan, the former residing at Rosanallis, and son of Mr. Patrick Kelly of Ballinteskine, Stradbally, the latter a highly respectable inhabitant of Brittis, near Maryboro' were both arrested at Mr. Oliver Bond's, March 12, '98, but by their active and persevering determination, previously, to raise their native county in the scale of genuine patriotism to the United cause, all the baronies of that fertile portion of Ireland were as regularly organized as if his Majesty had been the promoter of their *great design*.

The arrest of and punishment inflicted upon Mr. John Hardin of Ballyroan, are depicted and given in the words of a highly respectable gentleman of that county :—Mr. P. Lalor of Tennykill.

"Mr. John Hardin was a member of the Ballinakill yeomen, and having been suspected, by Lord de Vesey, to be an officer of the United system, he was arrested in the ranks, brought to the guard-house, stripped of his yeomanry dress, and several hundred lashes inflicted upon him, by Lord de Vesey's orders, and of Captain Pigott. To add insult to torture, his Catholic brothers belonging to the same corps were forced to lash him, each in their turn, with the cow-hide. After this ignominy, Mr. Hardin was sent, under an escort, to the gaol of Kilkenny. Thither his father, accompanied by Mr. Lalor of Tinnakill, proceeded to endeavour to have his son rescued from the military grasp of General Asgill. Money "potentius ictu fulminco," i.e. more powerful than a thunder-bolt, brought about Hardin's liberty. The lady of Asgill was accessible through the all-powerful

\* This ardent patriot, formerly of Ballinteskine, was cousin-german to P. O'Kelly, author of this history.

agency of money. She received a thousand pounds sterling from the father of Mr. Hardin, and a sub-sheriff, named B. Waters, got a fine riding-mare worth one hundred pounds from Hardin's friend, Mr. Lalor, for having interfered and negotiated the delivery of that persecuted man out of prison."

In the town of Mountmellick eleven men were hanged in one day by order of Lord Maryboro'. One of them was a mere boy, and at the moment the executioner arrived and about to fasten the halter around his neck, was absolutely employed in playing marbles, so boyish were his years. This youth was the son of a very respectable shop-keeper named Brock : he and his fellow victims were all hurried into eternity without even the form of a trial. Lord Maryboro' when ordering these executions, observed, loudly blaspheming, "by G—— these croppy dogs shall cease to live."

In the town of Ballinakill an affair of unexampled horror occurred, as follows : A man named Grady was seized by some horse soldiers, crossing the hill of Ballinakill ; he had a pike on his shoulder, and was carried tied behind one of them on horseback. As soon as they entered the town, the prisoner was knocked from off the horse by a foot yeoman who shot him at the same moment, and then bayoneted him. This victim apparently murdered was then dragged to the end of the town, where they dug a grave to throw his body into it ; the yeoman's wife having stripped him previously : the grave was shallow, and the clay thrown upon the corpse being light or sandy, the victim emerged from the grave and crept into an adjoining corn field, where his groans attracted some persons passing who brought him food and some clothes. This same victim of death was discovered same evening and was butchered a second time by the ferocious Orangemen of Ballinakill.

Several men were flogged and hanged at Mountrath. At Stradbally another horrifying scene occurred. A man named Collins who had accompanied the Athy men into the collieries, was met and taken prisoner by some

of the Stradbally yeomen cavalry, slumbering on a hill near Cobler's-castle : having the misfortune to have a pike with him, he was butchered in a few minutes, thrown upon a car and carried into Stradbally, cut and mangled with ferocious barbarity. In this bloody affair, it was said that Tom Lalor the distiller participated, to display his prowess and loyalty.

Before we commence our narrative of the Union produced and effected by English persecution, fallacy, and titles conferred on men of perfidious and punie faith, we now give to our countrymen the words of General Hoche, who had been appointed in '96 to the command of a French army destined for the invasion of Ireland : after him will appear the short-lived triumph of Gen. Humbert, at the head of eleven hundred Frenchmen. These two occurrences should be looked upon by British rulers, as powerful motives to avoid every collision with France ; but more particularly to give to their subjects in Ireland all the privileges enjoyed by Englishmen, and secure thereby their loyalty to the British throne.

*" A l'armée Française, destinée à operer la Revolution d'Irlande.*

" Republicains—Fier de vous avoir fait vaincre en plusieurs occasions, j'ai obtenu du gouvernement la permission de vous conduire à de nouveaux succès. Vous commander c'est être assuré de triompher.

" Jaloux de rendre à la liberté un peuple digne d'elle, et mûr pour une révolution, le directoire nous envoie en Irlande à l'effet d'y faciliter la révolution que d'excellents republicains viennent d'entreprendre, il sera beau pour nous qui avons vaincu les satellites des rois armés contre la république, de lui aider à recouvrer ses droits usurpés par l'odieux gouvernement Anglais.

" Vous n'oublierez jamais, braves et fideles compagnons, que le peuple chez lequel nous allons, est l'ami de notre patrie, que nous devons le traiter comme tel, et non comme un peuple conquis.

" En arrivant en Irlande, vous trouverez l'hospitalité, la fraternité ; bientôt des milliers de ses habitants

viendront grossir nos phalanges. Gardons nous donc bien de jamais, traiter aucuns d'eux en ennemis. Ainsi que nous, ils ont à se venger des perfides Anglais; ces derniers sont les seuls dont nous ayons à tirer une vengeance éclatante.

“Croiez que les Irlandais ne soupirent pas moins que vous après le moment où, de concert, nous irons à Londres, rappeler, à Pitt, et à ses amis, ce qu'ils ont fait contre notre liberté.

“Par amitié, et pour l'honneur du nom Française, vous respecterez les personnes et les propriétés du pays où nous allons. Si par des efforts constans, je pourrais à vos besoins, croyez que, jaloux de conserver la réputation de l'armée que j'ai l'honneur de commander, je punirai sévèrement quiconque s'écartera de ce qu'il doit à son pays. Les lauriers et la gloire seront le partage du soldat republicain; la mort sera le prix du viol et de pillage. Vous me connoissez assez pour croire que, pour la première fois, je ne manquerai pas à ma parole j'ai de vous provenir, sachez vous en rappeler.

“Le General,

“Brest, le——année républicaine.”

L. HOCHÉ.

#### TRANSLATION.

“*To the French army intended to effect a Revolution in Ireland.*

“Republicans—proud of having on many occasions led you to victory, I have been appointed by our government to be your leader to new triumphs. To command you, therefore secures our confidence for their accomplishment.

“Eager to give freedom to a people who are worthy of it, and ripe for a Revolution, the Directory sends us to Ireland, in order to effect that which some worthy republicans in that country have just undertaken to effect. It will be glorious for us who have conquered the armies of kings leagued against our republic, to assist them in recovering their rights, which have been usurped by the odious government of England.

“You will never forget, my brave and faithful com-

rades, that the people to whom we are going, are the friends of our country, and we ought to treat them as such, and not as a conquered nation.

"On our arrival in Ireland, you will meet with hospitality and brotherhood ; thousands will flock immediately to swell our ranks. Let us be guarded, therefore, never to treat any of them as an enemy. They have, as well as we, cause to be revenged of the perfidious English : the latter are those only whom we must punish with peculiar vengeance.

"Believe me that the Irish are not less anxious than you are, for the time to arrive, when, united with them we shall go to London, and make Pitt and his friends remember what they have done against our freedom.

"For the love and honor of the French name you will respect the persons and property of those in that country whither we are to proceed. If, by persevering assiduity, I provide for your wants, believe me, that, eager to maintain the character of the army which I have the honor to command, I shall punish with severity those who will swerve from what they owe to their country.

"Laurels and glory will be the lot of a republican soldier : death will be the reward of the violation of persons and of plunder. You know me sufficiently, and keep it in remembrance, that I will not now, for the first time, fail in maintaining my word, to prevent the commission of crime.

(Signed)

"The General,

Brest, 4th year of the Republic.

"L. HOCHÉ."

August 22nd, 1798, the French landed at Killala under General Humbert from three frigates and a brig. The number of men amounted only to one thousand one hundred, besides the general and some officers ; they had but few pieces of artillery. Having become sole masters of the town after a feeble resistance of some military stationed in it, they proceeded to the Bishop's palace. Some clergymen who were on a visitation with their families, applied for permission to leave the

town, but the French would not concede any privilege of departing, as they were careful to conceal the paucity of their numbers, and, therefore, kept the Bishop and all as if state prisoners. General Humbert and some of his officers took up their quarters among them, enjoying for several days the good things which the Bishop's palace afforded.

A proclamation to the following effect was widely circulated by the French, immediately after landing :—

“ Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Union.

“ Irishmen !—You have not forgotten Bantry-bay—you know what efforts France has made to assist you. Her affections for you, her desire for avenging your wrongs, and ensuring your independence, can never be impaired.

“ After several unsuccessful attempts, behold Frenchmen have arrived amongst you.

“ They come to support your courage, to share your dangers, to join their arms, and to mix their blood with yours, in the sacred cause of Liberty ! They are the forerunners of other Frenchmen, whom you will soon infold within your arms.

“ Brave Irishmen, our cause is common. Like you we abhor the avaricious and blood-thirsty policy of an oppressive government.—Like you, we hold as indefeasible the right of all nations to liberty : like you, we are persuaded that the peace of the world will ever be troubled, as long as the British ministry is suffered to make with impunity a traffic of the industry, labour, and blood of the people.

“ But exclusive of the same interests which unite us, we have powerful motives to love and defend you.

“ Have we not been the pretext of the cruelty exercised against you by the cabinet of St. James's ? The heartfelt interest you have shown in the grand events of our revolution, has it not been imputed to you as a crime ? are not tortures and death continually hanging over such of you as are barely suspected of being our friends ? let us unite then and march to glory.

*"We swear the most inviolable respect for your properties, your laws and all your religious opinions. Be free : be masters in your own country. We look for no other conquest than that of your liberty—no other success than yours.*

"The moment of breaking your chains has arrived. Our triumphant troops are now flying to the extremities of the earth, to tear up the roots of the wealth and tyranny of our enemies : that frightful colossus is now mouldering away in every part. Can there be any Irishman base enough to separate himself, at such a happy conjuncture, from the grand interests of his country ? If such there be, brave friends, let him be chased from the country he betrays, and let his property become the reward of those generous men who know how to fight and die.

"Irishmen ! recollect the late defeats which your enemies have experienced from the French : recollect the plains of Honscoote, Toulon, Quiberon, and Ostend ; recollect America, free from the moment she wished to be so.

"The contest between you and your oppressors cannot be long.

"Union, liberty, the Irish Republic !—Such is our shout. Let us march. Our hearts are devoted to you ; our glory is in your happiness.

(Signed) "The General Commanding-in-Chief,  
HUMBERT."

The following letter to the Bishop of Killala I deemed worthy to lay before our readers from having known very particularly the true character of the French, from a residence of seven years at Versailles. It is worthy of insertion, to make known the high consideration and esteem in which the Protestant Bishop was held by General Humbert and his officers. This was addressed (as is seen) from Dover, when they were returning to France, after they had been defeated in Ireland.

"To The Lord Bishop of Killala.

*Dover, October 26th, 1798.*

My Lord—On the point of returning to France, I think it incumbent on me to testify, in a particular

manner, the sentiments with which you have uniformly inspired me.

“From the moment that I had the opportunity of being acquainted with you, I ceased not to regret that chance and my duty as a soldier obliged me, by carrying the scourges of war into your neighbourhood, to disturb the domestic felicity which you enjoyed, and to which you were every way entitled. I should be happy indeed, if, on my return to my country, I might flatter myself that I had acquired some pretensions to your esteem. Independently of the particular reasons I have for loving and respecting you, the description which citizen Charost has given me of all your acts of goodness to him and all his officers, as well before as after the retaking of Killala, must for ever claim from me the tribute of esteem and gratitude. I beg the favour of your Lordship to accept this acknowledgment of it, and to share it with your valuable family.

I am, with the highest respect, my Lord,

Your most humble Servant,

HUMBERT.”

*“Army of Ireland, Liberty, Equality.*

*“Head-quarters at Castlebar, 14th Fructidor,  
6th year of the French Republic—  
One and Indivisible.*

“General Humbert, Commander-in-Chief of the army in Ireland, being desirous of organising, with as little delay as possible, an administrative power for the province of Connaught, directs as follows:—

“1st. The seat of the government shall be at Castlebar until further orders. 2nd. The government shall be formed of twelve members who shall be named by the commander-in-chief of the French army. 3rd. Citizen John Moore\* is appointed president of the government of the province of Connaught, and is specially entrusted with the nomination and the uniting of the

\* Afterwards taken prisoner by Colonel Crawford, and being tried for *High Treason*, was hanged and beheaded at Castlebar.

members. 4th. The government shall immediately attend to the organization of the militia of the province of Connaught, and to the supplies of the French and Irish armies. 5th. Eight regiments of infantry of twelve hundred men, and four regiments of cavalry of six hundred men each, shall be organized. 6th. The government shall declare all those to be rebels and traitors, who having received arms or clothing, shall not within twenty-four hours rejoin the army. 7th. Every individual from the age of sixteen to forty inclusive, is required, in the name of the Irish republic, to repair instantly to the French camp, in order to march, *en masse*, against the common enemy the tyrant of Ireland—the English; whose destruction alone can insure the independence and the welfare of the ancient Hibernia.

(Signed) The General Commanding-in-Chief,

HUMBERT."

#### ARMY OF IRELAND.

Head quarters at Castlebar, 6th year of the French Republic. The General Commanding-in-Chief the army of Ireland to the Executive Directory.

"I am to report to you, Citizens Directors, what have been my operations in Ireland.

On the 4th Fructidor, as soon as I got within sight of Broadhaven, the army received the appellation of the 'army of Ireland.' The wind being unfavourable, we could not make the land on that day.

"On the 5th, the division of frigates, after beating against wind and tide during twelve hours, anchored in the bay of Killala, about three o'clock P.M. In consequence of our having hoisted the English flag, many persons of note, and some English officers, came on board. It is impossible to describe their astonishment at the sight of us. At four, orders were given to disembark. The adjutant-general Sarazin, landed first at the head of the grenadiers. I ordered him to march to Killala, which he carried with the bayonet. I appointed him general of brigade on the field of battle. The enemy was completely defeated: of two hundred men who de-

fended the post, about twenty only escaped over the walls ; the rest were either taken or killed. Almost all the prisoners begged to be permitted to serve with us, and I readily consented to their request. The disembarkation was completed towards ten o'clock at night.

" On the 6th. General Sarazin reconnoitered Ballina, a slight skirmish only took place, the enemy's cavalry having retired in full gallop for the space of two leagues.

" On the 7th I marched with the army against Ballina. General Sarazin at the head of the grenadiers and of one battalion of the line, dispersed every thing that opposed his passage. The Adjutant Gen. Fontaine was directed to turn the enemy's flank : this attack succeeded and he took several prisoners. I pursued the cavalry during a considerable time, with the brave third regiment of *chasseurs a cheval*.

" On the 8th the French army was joined by a corps of United Irishmen who were armed and clothed on the spot. Towards three o'clock P.M. I moved forward to Rappa, and remained in that direction until two o'clock A.M.

" On the 9th the army advanced to Ballina, where it took post, but marched from it at three o'clock P.M. After a march of fifteen hours, I arrived on the 10th at six o'clock in the merning, on the heights in the rere of Castlebar. Having examined the enemy's position, which was very strong, I ordered General Sarazin to commence the attack. The enemy's outposts were rapidly driven in, and were pursued as far as the foot of the enemy's position. The grenadiers charged their line of battle, and were supported by the infantry of the line. The columns deployed under the fire of twelve pieces of cannon. General Sarazin ordered the left of the enemy to be attacked by a battalion of the line, which was obliged to give way, having received the fire of upwards of two thousand men ; General Sarazin flew to its support at the head of the grenadiers, and repulsed the enemy.

" Our determined aspect disconcerted the English

general, and as soon as the whole of the army had come up, I ordered a general attack to be made. General Sarazin drove in the enemy's right, and took three pieces of cannon. The chief of battalion, Ardouin, obliged his left to retire to Castlebar.

"The enemy having concentrated his force in Castlebar, and protected by his artillery, kept up a terrible fire; but by a successful charge of the third regiment of *chasseurs a cheval*, made through the main street of Castlebar, he was forced to retire across the bridge.

"After several very destructive charges, both of cavalry and infantry, directed by General Sarazin and Adjutant-General Fontaine, the enemy was driven from all his positions and pursued for the space of two leagues

"The enemy's loss amounts to eighteen hundred men, of which six hundred were either killed or wounded and twelve hundred prisoners, ten pieces of cannon, five stand of colours, twelve hundred firelocks, and almost all his baggage. The standard of his cavalry was taken in a charge by General Sarazin, whom I named General of Division on the field of battle. I also during the action appointed the Adjutant-General Fontaine, General of Brigade, and the chiefs of Battalion, Azemare, Ardouin and Dufour, Chiefs of Brigade. I further named Captain Durival to the command of a Squadron, and Captains Toussaint, Zilbethermain, Ranou, Huette, Babin, and Rutz, Chiefs of Battalion. I beg, citizens directors, that you will be pleased to confirm these promotions, and that you will send the commissions as soon as possible, as it will be productive of very good effect.

"Officers and soldiers have shown prodigies of valour. We have to regret the loss of some excellent officers and very brave soldiers. I shall very shortly forward to you further details. At present I will only add, that the enemy's army, consisting of between five and six thousand men, of which six hundred are cavalry, has been completely dispersed.

Health and respect,

(Signed)

HUMBERT."

## “ ARMY OF IRELAND.

“ The General Commanding-in Chief the Army of Ireland to the Minister of Marine.

“ *Head Quarters, Castlebar, 6th of the French Republic.*

“ I transmit to you, citizen Minister, the copy of my letter to the executive Directory. You will perceive, that no exertions are wanting on our parts to fulfil the intentions of government.

“ I have made several appointments, according to the actions and military talents displayed by those whom they regard, and I solicit your support in obtaining from the executive directory a confirmation of them.

“ About six hundred United Irishmen joined me on the 8th. Fructidor, and were immediately armed and clothed. On the 10th. they came forward to the heights in the rear of Castlebar. The first cannon shot that was fired, drove them off. I expected as much, and their panic in no way deranged my operations.

“ The victory of Castlebar has produced excellent results, and I hope, that, within three days, I shall have a corps of two or three thousand of the inhabitants.

The English army which I yesterday defeated, is commanded by General Hutchinson, whose head quarters are now at Tuam. He intends to assemble twenty-five thousand men to attack me : and on my side I am doing my utmost to be prepared for his reception, and even to go and meet him, should circumstances justify such proceeding : we occupy Killala, Ballina, Foxford, Castlebar, Newport, Ballinrobe and, Westport. As soon as the corps of United Irishmen which I wish to assemble, shall be clothed, I shall march against the enemy in the direction of Roscommon, where the partizans of the insurrection are most zealous.

“ As soon as the English army shall have evacuated the province of Connaught, I shall pass the Shannon, and shall endeavour to make a junction with the insurgents in the North. When this shall have been effected, I shall be in a sufficient force to march to Dublin, and to fight a decisive action.

"The Irish have, until this day, hung back. The county of Mayo has never been disturbed, and this must account for the slowness of our progress, which in other parts would have been very different.

"As this handful of French may possibly be obliged to yield to numbers, and that the noise of cannon may produce on our new soldiers the effect it had at Castlebar, I desire you will send me one half battalion of the third half brigade of light infantry, one of the tenth half brigade of the line, one hundred and fifty of the third regiment of *chasseurs a cheval*, and one hundred men of the light artillery, fifteen thousand firelocks, and a million of cartridges. I will venture to assert, that, in the course of a month after the arrival of this reinforcement, which I estimate at two thousand men, Ireland will be free.

"The fleet may anchor in the bay of Tarboy, by 53. 55 latitude, south of the *L'Isle Mutelle*, and the disembarkation of the troops will be effected without difficulty.

"I cannot sufficiently praise the conduct of the troops under my command. I must recommend my brave comrades to the gratitude of the nation, and to your paternal care.

"Health and respect

(Signed)

"HUMBERT."

The last communication from Humbert to the French government, concerning Ireland, was couched in the following words.

"Lichfield, 2 Vendemiaire, Sept. 25, 1798.

"Citizens Directors—After having obtained the greatest successes, and made the arms of the French Republic to triumph during my stay in Ireland, I have been obliged at length to submit to a superior force of thirty thousand troops commanded by Lord Cornwallis.

I am a prisoner of war upon my parole.

(Signed)

"HUMBERT."

To give our readers an opportunity of attaching importance to the career of the French in Ireland in 1798, I will now set before them the words of Sir Jonah Bar-

rington, on the invasion of these irreconcilable enemies of Great Britain at that eventful epoch.

## CHAPTER XXI.

**Landing of the French at Killala.** Many peasants flocked to the French standard. Lord Hutchinson commanded the English troops. Genl. Lake.—The appearance of the French and those who had joined them; the English troops fled; the town taken possession of by the French and Irish insurgents. A ball given by the French officers.—A part of the Louth and Kilkenny militia join the invaders. Many of them hanged, next day.—Colonel Vereker. Delays of Cornwallis produced danger to the city.—The troops regain Killala: numbers of the inhabitants killed and hanged. Character of Buonaparte.—Interview between Theobald Wolfe Tone and Buonaparte. Louis Philippe and his policy.—The fate and end of T. W. Tone, Sept. 20, '98. Napper Tandy. Commodore Bompard. Admiral Warren.—T. W. Tone determined to await the issue of the battle with Admiral Warren. The French ship of the line *Hoche* fought during six hours against four English men-of-war, and a frigate.—Four French frigates taken. The *Hoche* brought into Lough Swilly. Letterkenny. Sir G. Hill recognizes and betrays T. W. Tone.—Tone put under arrest: he and Hill formerly fellow-students of T. C. Dublin.—Treatment of T. W. Tone: hurried under an escort seated on horse-back, and put into the provost prison. Memoirs of Hevey and Major Sirr.—Court of King's Bench. The condemnation of Tone illegal. Court martial that tried Tone illegally constituted.—Bantry bay expedition: memoirs by T. W. Tone. Napper Tandy. Sir Sidney Smyth imprisoned in Paris.—Court-martial which tried T. W. Tone. Crowd assembled to hear his trial: his intrepid replies to the Court.—Tone fearlessly addresses the Court-martial. Ireland unable, of herself, to separate herself from Great Britain.—T. W. Tone explains, upon his trial, his determination to rescue Ireland and establish her freedom.

“A portion of an armament destined by France to aid the Irish insurgents, had escaped our cruisers, and had landed about one thousand troops at Killala bay. They entered Killala without opposition, surprising the Bishop and a company of parsons who were on their visitation. Nothing could be better than their conduct; and the Bishop in a publication on the event, did them ample justice, at the expense of his own translation, *through jealousy of the government.*”

“They were joined by a considerable number of illiterate peasantry, unarmed, unclothed and undisciplined. The French did the best they could to render them efficient. After some stay at Killala, they determined to march into the country, and even with that small force, they expressed but little doubt of reaching the metropolis.

“Lord Hutchinson commanded the garrison of Castlebar a few miles from Killala. His force being pretty numerous, and a good train of artillery, he had no suspicion that a handful of French would presume to attack him.

“General Lake with his staff, had just arrived and taken the command, (as an older officer,) whereas, Lord Hutchinson had determined to march the ensuing day, and end the question by a capture of this French detachment. The repose of the generals was of short duration. Early in the morning they were roused by an account that the French and peasantry were in full march upon them. They immediately beat to arms, and the troops were moved to a position about a mile from Castlebar, which to an unskilled person would appear unassailable.

“Generals Lake and Hutchinson had scarcely posted their forces, when the French appeared on the opposite side of a small lake, descending a hill in columns, directly in front of the English. Our artillery played on them with effect; the French kept up a scattered fire of musketry and took up the attention of our army by irregular movements. In about half-an-hour, however, our troops were alarmed by the appearance of small bodies to turn their left which, being covered by a wall, they never apprehended. The orders given were either mistaken or not delivered; the line wavered, and in a few minutes the whole of the royal army was completely routed. The flight of the infantry was that of a mob; all the royal artillery was taken. Our army fled to Castlebar. The heavy cavalry galloped amongst the infantry, and Lord Jocelyn's light dragoons, and made the best of

their way through thick and thin to Castlebar and towards Tuam, pursued by such of the French as could get horses to carry them. About nine hundred French and some peasants took possession of Castlebar without resistance, except from a few Highlanders stationed in the town, who were soon destroyed.\*

This battle has been generally called the races of Castlebar. "A considerable part of the Louth and Kilkenny regiments, not finding it convenient to retreat, thought it prudent to join the victors, and were immediately equipped as French riflemen. About ninety of these were afterwards hanged by Lord Cornwallis at Ballinamuck. One of them defended himself by insisting, that it was the army and not he who were deserters, that whilst he was fighting hard, they all ran away and left him to be murdered." Lord Jocelyn got him saved. The defeat of Castlebar proved a victory to the viceroy, whereas, all the horrors of the rebellion became renewed, and the desertion of the few Irish militia regiments excited a belief, that England alone could protect the orangemen and loyalists and save the country to them.

"Lord Cornwallis was supine and the insurgents rendered active by it. Forty thousand would have been speedily assembled at the crooked wood in Westmeath, within forty-two miles of Dublin, ready to join these few French, in their march for the metropolis.

The French continued too long at Castlebar, and Lord Cornwallis at length collected twenty thousand troops, with which he considered himself pretty certain of conquering nine hundred men. He marched directly

\* "The native character of the French never showed itself more strongly than after this action. When in full possession of the large town of Castlebar, they immediately set about putting their persons in the best order, and the officers advertised a ball and supper that night for the ladies of the town. This, it is said, was well attended. Decorum in all points was strictly preserved. They paid ready money for every thing, and hanged some rebels who attempted to plunder. In fact, the French army established the French character, wherever they occupied."—*Barrington*, Vol. 11, 4to. p. 280.

to the Shannon, to prevent their passage ; but the insurgents had led the French to the source of that river which is in the county Leitrim, and ten days elapsed before his Lordship reached his enemy. Had not Col. Vereker (Lord Gort) delayed them in rather a sanguinary skirmish, it was possible they might have slipped by his Lordship, and have been revelling in Dublin, whilst he was roaming about the Shannon. However, he at length overtook the enemy. Lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters were determined to retrieve their character lost at Castlebar, and a squadron led by his Lordship, made a bold charge upon the French ; but the French opened, then closed on them, and they were beaten, and his Lordship was made prisoner.

"The French Corps, however, saw that ultimate success was impossible, having not more than nine hundred French troops, and, therefore surrendered as prisoners of war, without further resistance, after having penetrated into the heart of the kingdom. They were sent to Dublin and subsequently to France.\* Horrors had re-commenced, executions were multiplied, and ninety of the militia who had turned over to the French, were immediately executed by order of Lord Cornwallis.

After this the royal army marched to Killala, and after a sanguinary conflict in the streets, became masters of the town. Numbers of the town and country people were hanged. Lord Cornwallis unexpectedly proclaimed an armistice, to afford an opportunity to the insurgents to disperse, and named thirty days as a limitation for them to surrender their arms, or expect no quarter. This interval was terrific to the loyalists.

The government had now reached the climax of terror, for inducing Ireland to throw herself into the arms of the protecting country.

\* In the memoirs of the son of T. W. Tone, the following brief account of Ballinamuck is given. "September 8th at Ballinamuck, Humbert, after a gallant stand, surrendered. The country people who joined him, were pursued by Lake's troops and massacred indiscriminately ; others were hanged and shot, and among them an almost incalculable number of deserters who had joined the French at Castlebar."

While we are upon the subject of the French, on whose assistance the United Irishmen calculated, and who in the end proved themselves vascillating, wavering, and unsteady friends, particularly in every plan suggested by T. W. Tone, while acting as the accredited and faithful agent of his countrymen, I deem it right to introduce here as a matter of history, what Tone thought of the character of Buonaparte, whereas the career of this extraordinary man is briefly painted and given to the Irish people, in such a light, by the faithful Tone, that few could attach implicit belief to the facts, were it not that the narrative emanates from the pen of Tone, wherein he says—

“Buonaparte was jealous of Hoche’s talents, who were both equally admired by their respective armies. Buonaparte calculated to raise France to the pinnacle of glory : but he foresaw in the conflicting passions of a republic, that his own will could not be supreme, and therefore, to raise his country to the summit of greatness, he must be raised himself. His manners “(*i.e.* Buonaparte’s) were austere and reserved. Carnot, who was zealous equally as Hoche for the conquest of Ireland, being driven from the councils of the directory, the directory determined to turn the young Buonaparte to their account, and make him their tool. Buonaparte turned his attention to the east, and instead of encouraging an expedition to Ireland, he observed to the executive directory—“what more do you need from the Irish ? They form a powerful diversion in your favour.” He knew also, that the real disposition of the Irish was opposed to his views, being a near kin to the Jacobins in republicanism. He was also known to have repudiated, on one occasion, the assertion of Wolfe Tone, when saying, that in Ireland four millions would join him, Buonaparte replied, “your population is but two millions ?” He neglected Ireland and thereby lost himself, which he acknowledged in exile. After being chained down upon the rock of St. Helena, by the British government, Buonaparte incessantly observed

to his keepers, "Had I but regarded Ireland, and looked to the conquest of it as Hoche had done, my chains never would have been riveted by the *punic* rulers of your empire."\* The very bones of Buonaparte have been turned to account by the late ruler of France, Louis Philippe. His deep policy in carrying them from the grave in St. Helena, and depositing them among the people of France, revives in their minds and hearts a desire to avenge the battle of Waterloo, and the fall and defeat of the French armies led on by Buonaparte, the greatest captain recorded in any age of the world.

We must now return to the fate of T. W. Tone, and the accompaniments of the tragical and melancholy close of his life.

"September 20th, 1798, the directory ordered Commodore Bompert to sail to the assistance of Humbert,† whose defeat they had not yet heard of. With one ship of the line and eight frigates, General Hardy was to command three thousand troops. Napper Tandy sailed the 16th of September, in a fast sailing boat, accompanied by a great part of the Irish then at Paris. They reached the Isle of Rachlin, where they were informed of the defeat of Humbert. Napper Tandy and his party merely scattered some proclamations, and re-embarked for Norway. Commodore Bompert took a N.W. sweep, intending then for the North, but his fleet was dispersed by contrary winds. On October 11th, he arrived at the mouth of Lough Swilly, and was signalled before he could reach shore to land his troops. Admiral Warren was bearing down upon him with six sail of the line, one razee of sixty guns, and two frigates. Bompert ordered his frigates to endeavour to escape through shallow water; for the large and heavy seventy-four there was no chance of escaping, but he determined to

\* Punic is a word always applied to England by Frenchmen, and implies treachery and want of faith. The Romans invariably entertained the same opinion of the Carthaginians.

† Post bellum auxilium, i.e. help after the war.

fight, and thus honour the flag of his country. "The French officers all entreated T. W. Tone to escape, and get on board the French frigate *Biche*, as there would be no mercy for him. The *Biche* did effect her escape, but Tone refused to leave the *Hoche* now in the hour of peril. During six hours the *Hoche* maintained an obstinate fight against four sail of the line and a frigate. Her mast and rigging were swept away, her scuppers flowed with blood, her wounded filled the cock-pit, her shattered ribs yawned at each new stroke, and let in five feet of water in the hold ; her rudder was carried off, and she floated a dismantled wreck upon the waters. Her sails and cordage hung in shreds, nor could she reply with a single gun from her dismantled batteries to the unabating cannonade of the enemy. At length she struck. The *Resolve* and *Loire* were soon reached by the English fleet. The former was in a sinking condition ; she made, however, an honorable defence. The *Loire* sustained three attacks, and had almost effected her escape ; at length engaged by the *Anzon* razee of sixty guns, she struck, after an action of three hours, entirely dismasted. Of the other frigates, pursued in all directions, the *Bellone*, *Immortalité*, *Coquille*, and *Embuscade*, were all taken ; the *Romaine* and *Semillante*, through a thousand dangers, reached separate ports in France.

When the *Hoche* struck, T. W. Tone was not recognized among the other French officers—he appeared as a Frenchman. After some days only, the fleets having dispersed during the fight, the *Hoche* was brought into Lough Swilly, and the prisoners landed and marched to Letterkenny. Sir George Hill, well known in the county of Derry, and who was T. W. Tone's fellow student in Trinity College, recognized and betrayed him. The French being invited to breakfast at the Earl of Cavan's who commanded in that district, T. W. Tone was not distinguished among them, when Sir G. Hill entered, and was accompanied by Police officers. He looked and discovered him to have been his fellow-student. They

beckoned to Tone to walk into an adjoining apartment. Here General Lavan surrounded by military, cried out—"you have left Ireland to enter into the French service, and having been previously his Majesty's subject, you now stand convicted of high treason, and shall be therefore treated as a traitor." He then ordered him to be ironed. Tone flung off his uniform, and with firmness spoke thus: "These fetters shall never degrade the revered insignia of the free nation which I have served." After being ironed, he cried again—"for the same cause which I have embraced, I feel prouder to wear these chains than if I were decorated with the star and garter of England." Another story has gained circulation, that T. W. Tone made himself known to an acquaintance who sat at table, and that this character (according to Sheil at an electioneering contest held at Dundalk) was one of the Bellew family who immediately communicated to Lord Cavan, who he was whom he had at his breakfast table.

The words of young Tone, as annexed to the father's memoirs, are related thus:—"Sir George Hill was his fellow student in Trinity College, he was now a magistrate of the county Derry, and leader of the Orangemen in these districts. The French officers being invited to breakfast at the Earl of Cavan's in the vicinity of Letterkenny, Sir George Hill stepped into the breakfast parlour, where having recognized T. W. Tone, advanced and accosted him; the other rising said, 'Sir George, I am very glad to see you; how is Lady Hill and your family all?' He was then beckoned into the next room, where an unexpected indignity awaited him. The irons as mentioned above and the ignominy with which his father had been treated by Sir G. Hill and Gen. Lavan who was in command at the moment of his arrest, are in accordance with the description given by others of the intrepid manner of Tone, in meeting and bearing up against his sanguinary persecutors.

From Letterkenny he was hurried to Dublin without delay: contrary to usual custom, he was conveyed

during the whole route, fettered and on horse-back, under an escort of dragoons. During this journey, the unruffled serenity of his countenance, amidst the rude soldiery, and under the awe-struck gaze of his countrymen, excited universal admiration. Recognising amidst a group of females who thronged the windows, a young lady of his acquaintance, "there," said he, "is my old friend Miss Beresford, how well she looks." On his arrival he was immured in the provost's prison, in the barracks of Dublin, under the charge of the notorious Major Sandys, a man whose insolence, rapacity and cruelty, will be long remembered in that city, where, as a worthy instrument of that faction which then ruled it, he enjoyed under their patronage, a despotic authority within its precincts.—*Vide Curran's speeches—Hevey versus Major Sirr.*

Though the reign of terror was drawing to a close, and Lord Cornwallis had restored some appearance of legal order and regular administration in the kingdom, a prisoner of such importance to the Irish protestant ascendancy party, as the founder and leader of the United Irish Society, and the most formidable of their adversaries, was not to be trusted to the delays and common forms of law. Though the court of King's Bench was then sitting, preparations were instantly made, trying him summarily before a court-martial. A prevailing opinion has been erroneously stated, that, from Tone's superficial knowledge of the laws to which he evinced an early repugnance, he pleaded his French commission as a guarantee against the legality of proceeding to try him thus. His son says—"Though my father used to laugh at his little proficiency in legal lore, he knew perfectly well, that the course he had deliberately taken subjected him to the utmost severity of the British laws. Neither was he ignorant, that, from the custom of the land, and the very tenor of these laws, his trial, as it was conducted, was informal. He never was legally condemned, for though a subject of the crown (not of Britain but of Ireland) he was not a military man of that kingdom ;

he had taken no military oath, and of course the court-martial which tried him, had no power to pronounce on his case, which belonged to the regular criminal tribunals. But his heart was sunk in despair at the total failure of his hopes, and he did not wish to survive them. To die with honor was his only wish ; and his only request was, to be shot like a soldier. For this object he preferred himself to be tried by a court-martial, and proffered his French commission, not to defend his life, but as a proof of his rank, as he himself had stated upon his trial

If further proof were required, that my father was perfectly aware of his fate, according to the English law, his own journals written during the Bantry Bay expedition, afford an incontestable one. His highest hope always was, if he would fall into the hands of the English, that the French Government would interfere, and claim him with all its power and credit : to that, and to threats of severe retaliation, he knew that the British cabinet would yield, as they did, in about a year afterwards in the case of Napper Tandy. For that very purpose, Sir Sidney Smith was detained in prison, in Paris, by Carnot, in the Temple.

"The time of Tone's trial was deferred for a few days, by reason of the officers composing the court-martial having received marching orders. At length, on Saturday, November 10th, '98, a new court-martial was assembled, consisting of General Loftus, President ; Colonels Vandeleur, Daly, and Wolfe ; Major Armstrong, and Captain Curran ; Mr. Patterson performed the functions of Judge Advocate.

"At an early hour, the neighbourhood of the barracks was crowded with anxious spectators. As soon as the doors were thrown open, they rushed in and filled every corner of the hall.

"Tone appeared in the uniform of a *Chef de Brigade* Colonel. The firmness and cool serenity of his whole deportment gave to the awe-struck assembly the measure of his soul. Nor could his bitterest enemies, what-

ever they deemed of his political principles, and of the necessity of striking a great example, deny him the praise of determination and magnanimity.

To the question of guilty or not guilty, Tone replied, "I mean not to give the court any useless trouble, and wish to spare them the idle task of examining witnesses. I admit all the facts alleged, and request leave to read an address which I have prepared for this occasion." To a question from Colonel Daly, Tone answered—"Stripping this charge of the technicality of its terms,—it means, I presume, by the word traitorously, that I have been found in arms against the soldiers of the King in my native country. I admit this accusation in its most extended sense, and request again to explain to the court the reasons and motives of my conduct." He then, with their permission, addressed them, as follows :—

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the court-martial—I mean not to give you the trouble of bringing judicial proof to convict me, legally, of having acted in hostility to the government of his Britannic Majesty in Ireland. I admit the fact. From my earliest youth I have regarded the connection between Ireland and Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation, and felt convinced, that whilst it lasted, this country could never be free nor happy. My mind has been confirmed in this opinion, by the experience of every succeeding year, and the conclusion which I have drawn from every fact before my eyes. In consequence I determined to apply all the powers which my individual efforts could move, in order to separate the two countries.

"That Ireland was not able of herself to throw off the yoke, I knew. Therefore I sought for aid wherever it was to be found. In honorable poverty I rejected offers which to a man in my circumstances, might be considered highly advantageous ; I remained faithful to what I thought the cause of my country, and I sought in the French Republic, an ally to rescue four millions of my countrymen from bondage." The president after designating his language as unfit to be delivered in a court

engaged upon his trial, desired that he would conclude. "I believe," observed Tone, "there is nothing in what remains for me to say, which can give any offence. I mean to express my feelings and gratitude towards the Catholic body, in whose cause I was engaged." Loftus then provoked him to reply thus :—

Tone—"I shall now confine myself to some points relative to my connection with the French army. Attached to no party in the French Republic, without interest, without money, without intrigue, the openness and integrity of my views raised me to a high and confidential rank in its armies. I obtained the confidence of the Executive Directory, the approbation of my Generals, and I venture to add, the esteem and affection of my brave comrades. When I review these circumstances, I feel a secret and internal consolation which no reverse of fortune, no sentence in the power of this court to inflict, can ever deprive me of, or weaken in any degree my opinion. Under the flag of the French Republic, I originally engaged with a few to save and liberate my own country. For this purpose I have encountered the chances of war amongst strangers—for that object I have repeatedly braved the terrors of the ocean, covered, as I knew it to be, with the triumphant fleets of that power which it is my glory and my duty to oppose. I have sacrificed all my views in life—I have courted poverty—I have left a beloved wife unprotected, and children whom I adored, fatherless. After such sacrifices in a cause which I have always conscientiously considered as the cause of justice and freedom, it is no great effort at this day, to add the sacrifice of my life."

## CHAPTER XXII.

The atrocities committed not caused by Theobald Wolfe Tone. Being ignominiously treated, allusion is made to those who betrayed him. The intrepidity which he evinced is portrayed.—The Judge Advocate's reply to Tone: he solicits, that the court adjudge for him to die the death of a soldier: T. W. Tone produces his papers to confirm his having been an Officer in the French army.—The French Directory; General Kilmaine an Irishman. General Loftus transmitted the trial to Lord Cornwallis, who refused Tone's request, and commanded that he should die the death of a traitor.—Memoirs of Tone junior, allude to the perfidy of England to a fallen enemy; they contrast her with Nero, Caligula, &c., &c.—John Philpot Curran resorts to the King's Bench to save Tone. Curran's character briefly given. The sentence against Tone illegal.—Curran unable to raise a subscription to defend Tone: the son says, that terror closed every door and heart.—Curran leads Tone's father into court with an affidavit.—Curran demands, that an Habeas Corpus be issued to the Provost Marshal, to bring the body of Tone before the Lord Chief Justice Kilwardin: he sends for the order. Awful state of the court; the Sheriff ordered to seize Major Sandys and others. Terrible agitation—News arrived in court, that Tone attempted suicide; by this rendered unable to be brought to court. Perfidy obvious in the court martial. Tyranny of Pitt and Cornwallis.—After being condemned, Tone addressed; a letter to the French Directory in favour of his wife and children. His death was planned and accelerated to avoid the Mandate of the Lord Chief Justice.—General Kilmaine writes to the French Directory a strong letter in favour of Wolfe Tone.—General Kilmaine claims a reciprocity of treatment against a British officer, similar to the fate and indignities inflicted upon Tone. Noble speech of Lucien Buonaparte in favor of Wolfe Tone. General Hoche pacificator of La Vendee.—The papers read by Tone before the Court-martial were read by Lucien Buonaparte before the council of 500: he calls upon the assembly to be now the fathers and guardians of Tone's family.—Lucien Buonaparte declares, that at some future day a monument would be raised to Tone in the city of Dublin. Tone's brother named Matthew, and Teeling of Lisburn, were in Humbert's expedition and taken prisoners, were hurried to Dublin, hanged and beheaded.—Lucien Buonaparte nobly claims a pension to be fixed upon for the family of Tone: he concludes his remarks upon the perfidy of England with a brilliancy of talent regarding Ireland, Wolfe Tone, his wife and family.

“But I hear it said, that this unfortunate country has been a prey to all sorts of horrors. I sincerely

lament it. I beg, however, it may be remembered, that I have been absent four years from Ireland; to me these sufferings can never be attributed. I designed by fair and open war to procure the separation of the two countries. For open war I was prepared; but if instead of that, a system of private assassination has taken place, I repeat, whilst I deplore it, that it is not chargeable on me. Atrocities, it seems, have been committed on both sides; I do not less deplore them; I detest them from my heart; and to those who know my character and sentiments, I may safely appeal for the truth of this assertion. With them I need no justification."

"In a cause like this, success is every thing; success in the eyes of the vulgar fixes its merits. Washington succeeded, and Kosciusko failed. After a combat nobly sustained—a combat which would have excited the respect and sympathy of a generous enemy, my fate was to become a prisoner. To the eternal disgrace of those who gave the order, I was brought in irons like a felon. I mention this for the sake of others; for me I am indifferent to it: I am aware of the fate which awaits me, and scorn equally the tone of complaint, and that of supplication."

"As to the connection between this country and Great Britain,—I repeat it, all that has been imputed to me, words, writings and actions, I here deliberately avow. I have spoken and acted with reflection and on principle; and am ready to meet the consequences. Whatever be the sentence of this court, I am ready for it. Its members will surely discharge their duty—I shall take care not to be wanting in mine."\*

P. T. O.

\* "*Justum et tenacem propositi virum,  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis tyranni,  
Mente quatit solida neque Auster,  
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,  
Nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis,  
Si fractus illabatur orbis,  
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.*"—

Hor. Car. iii.

This speech was pronounced in a tone so magnanimous, so full of a noble and calm serenity, as seemed visibly and deeply to affect all its hearers, the members of the court not excepted. A pause ensued of some continuance, and silence reigned in the hall, till interrupted by Tone himself, who enquired, whether it was not usual to assign an interval between the sentence and the execution.

The Judge-Advocate answered, "that the voices of the court would be collected without delay, and the result transmitted forthwith to the Lord-Lieutenant: if the prisoner, therefore, had any further observations to make, now was the moment.

Tone—"I wish to offer a few words relative to one single point—to the mode of punishment. In France our *émigrés* who stand nearly in the same situation as I suppose I now stand before you, are condemned to be shot. I ask, that the court adjudge me the death of a soldier, and let me be shot by a platoon of grenadiers. I request this indulgence, rather in consideration of the uniform which I wear—the uniform of a *chef de brigade* in the French army, than any personal regard to myself. In order to evince my claim to this favour, I beg that the court may take the trouble to peruse my commission and letters of service in the French army. It will appear from these papers, that I have not received them as a mask to cover me, but that I have been long and *bonâ-fide* an officer in the French service."

Judge Advocate—"You must feel that the papers to which you allude, will serve as undeniable proofs against you."

Tone—"Oh ! I know it well. I have already ad-

*Translated.*

The man in conscious virtue bold,  
Who dares his secret purpose hold,  
Unshaken hears the crowd's tumultuous cries ;  
And the impetuous tyrant's angry brow defies.  
Let the wild winds that rule the seas,  
Tempestuous all their horrors raise ;  
Let Jove's dread arm with thunders rend the spheres,  
Beneath the crash of worlds undaunted he appears.

mitted the facts, and I now admit the papers as full proofs of conviction."

The papers were then examined. They consisted of a *brevet of chef de brigade*, from the directory, signed by the minister of war; of a letter of service, granting to him the rank of adjutant general, and of a passport.

General Loftus—"In these papers you are designated as serving in the Army of England."

Tone—"I did serve in that army when it was commanded by Buonaparte, by Desaix, and by Kilmaine, who is, as I am, an Irishman. But I have also served elsewhere."

The court requested if he had any thing further to observe. He said, that nothing more occurred to him, except, that the sooner his excellency's approbation of their sentence was obtained, the better. He would consider it as a favour if it could be obtained in an hour.

General Loftus then observed, "that the court would undoubtedly submit to the Lord-Lieutenant, the address which he had read to them, and also the subject of his last demand." In transmitting the address he, however, took care to efface all that part of it which he would not allow to be read, and which contained the dying speech and last words of the first apostle of Irish union and martyr of Irish liberty, to his countrymen. "Lord Cornwallis," says young Tone, "refused the last demand of my father, and he was sentenced to die the death of a traitor in forty-eight hours, on the 12th of November. This cruelty he had foreseen, for England, from the days of Llewellyn of Wales, and Wallace of Scotland, to those of Tone and Napoleon, has never shewn mercy to a fallen enemy: he then in perfect coolness and self-possession, determined to execute his purpose, and anticipate their sentence.

"The next day was spent in a kind of stupor. A cloud of portentous awe seemed to hang over the city of Dublin. The apparatus of military and despotic authority was every where displayed; no man dared to

trust his next neighbour, nor one of the pale citizens to betray, by look or word, his feelings or sympathy. The terror which prevailed in Paris, under the rule of the Jacobins, or in Rome, during the proscriptions of Marius, Sylla, and the Triumviri, and under the reigns of Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, and Domitian, was never deeper or more universal than that of Ireland at this fatal and shameful period. It was in short the feeling which made the people, soon after, passively acquiesce in the union, and in the extinction of their name as a nation. Of the numerous friends of my father, and of those who had shared in his political principles and career, some had perished on the scaffold, others rotted in dungeons, and the remainder dreaded, by the slightest mark of recognition, to be involved in his fate. One noble exception deserves to be recorded.

“John Philpot Curran, the celebrated orator and patriot, had attached himself in his political career, to the Whig party ; but his theoretical principles went much farther ; and when the march of the administration to despotism was pronounced, when the persecution began, I know, that in the year 1794 and 1795, and particularly at the Drogheda assizes in the former year, and on the occasion of the trial of Bird and Hamill, where they were both employed as counsel, he opened his mind to my father, and that on the main point—on the necessity of breaking with England, they agreed. Curran prudently and properly confined himself to those legal exertions at the bar, where his talents were so eminently useful, and where he left an unperishable monument to his own and his country’s fame. It was well that there remained one place and one man through which the truth might sometimes be heard. He avoided committing himself to the counsels of the United Irishmen ; but had the project of liberating Ireland succeeded, he would be among the foremost to hail and join the independence. On this occasion, joining his efforts to those of Mr. Peter Burrowes, he nobly exerted himself to save his friend.

“The sentence passed against my father was evidently illegal; Curran, however, knew very well that by bringing the case before the proper tribunal, the result would be ultimately the same—that he would not be acquitted; but then the delays of the law might be brought in play, and the all-important point of gaining time would be obtained. The French government could not in honor but interfere, and the case, from being a merely legal, would become a political one. For politics my father had many adversaries, but few personal enemies. In private and public life he was generally beloved and respected; his moderation too was known and appreciated by those who feared a revolution, and trusted to him as a mediator, if such an event took place. In short, it did not appear an impossibility to have finally saved him, by some agreement with the government. Determined to form a bar for his defence, and bring the case before the court of King’s Bench, then sitting and presided by Lord Kilwardin, a man of the purest and most benevolent virtue, and who always tempered justice with mercy;” Curran endeavoured, the whole day of the 11th to raise a subscription for this purpose. But terror had closed every door, and I have it from his own lips, that even among the Catholic leaders, many of them wealthy, no one dared to subscribe. Curran then determined to proceed *alone*. On this no comment can be expected from the son of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Those men had behaved nobly towards him in former times, almost as perilous. The universal dread must be their excuse.”

“On the next day, November 12th, (the day fixed for his execution), the scene in the court of King’s Bench was awful and impressive. As soon as it opened Curran advanced, leading the aged father of Tone, who produced his affidavit that his son had been brought before a bench of officers, calling itself a court-martial, and sentenced to death. ‘I do not pretend,’ said Curran, ‘that Mr. Tone is not guilty of the charges of

which he is accused. I presume the officers were honorable men. But it is stated in this affidavit, as a solemn fact, that Mr. Tone had no commission under his Majesty, and, therefore, no court martial could have cognizance of any crime imputed to him, whilst the court of King's Bench sat in the capacity of the great criminal court of the land. In times when war was raging, when man was opposed to man in the field, courts-martial might be endured ; but every law authority is with me, whilst I stand upon this sacred principle of the constitution, that martial law and civil law are incompatible, and the former must cease with the existence of the latter.

"This however is not the time," said Curran, "for arguing this momentous question. My client must appear in this court. He is cast for death, this very day : he may be ordered for execution whilst I address you. I call on the court to support the law, and move for an Habeas Corpus, to be directed to the Provost-Marshall of the Barracks of Dublin, and Major Sandys, to bring up the body of Tone."

Chief-Justice,—“Have a writ instantly prepared.”

Curran—“My client may die whilst the writ is preparing.”

Chief-Justice—“Mr. Sheriff, proceed to the Barracks and acquaint the Provost-Marshall, that a writ is preparing to suspend Tone's execution, and see that he be not executed.” The court awaited, in the utmost agitation and suspense, the return of the sheriff. He speedily appeared and said, “My Lord, I have been to the Barracks in pursuance of your order. The Provost-Marshall says, he must obey Major Sandys. Major Sandys says, he must obey Lord Cornwallis.” Mr. Curran announced, at the same time, that Mr. Tone the father was just returned after serving the Habeas Corpus, and that General Craig would not obey it. The Chief-Justice exclaimed, “Mr. Sheriff, take the body of Tone into custody, take the Provost-Marshall and Major Sandys into custody, and shew the order of the court to General Craig.”

The general impression was now, that the prisoner would be led out to execution in defiance of the court. This apprehension was legible in the countenance of Lord Kilwarden : a man who in the worst of times preserved a religious respect for the laws ; and who besides, I may add, felt every personal feeling of pity and respect for the prisoner, whom he had formerly contributed to shield from the vengeance of government on an occasion almost as perilous. His agitation, according to an eyewitness, was magnificent.

The Sheriff returned at length with the fatal news ; he had been refused admittance into the Barracks, but was informed, that Mr. Tone, who had wounded himself dangerously the night before, was not in a condition to be removed. A French emigrant surgeon, who had closed the wound, was called in, and declared there was no saying for four days whether it was mortal. His head was kept in one position, and a sentinel was placed over him to prevent his speaking, removal would kill him at once. The Chief-Justice instantly ordered a rule for suspending the execution.

To view, in calm reflection, all the circumstances accompanying the mournful and tragic end of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the noble and virtuous efforts made by Curran to rescue him from the grasp of tyranny and the gulph now yawning to receive his martyred body, are foremost to excite our wonder. Too formidable a host was arrayed against him to succeed in saving his friend from the sanguinary verdict pronounced by a tribunal, obviously intent through the whole trial to act in conformity with the plans of Pitt and his colleague Lord Cornwallis.

In the awful and deplorable fate of Tone, every Irish breast which feels for and extends its pity to this great martyr to the cause of Ireland, in '98, ought to behold the Lord Chief-Justice Kilwarden as another great character endeavouring to save the victim of a ruthless tyranny from the bloody hands of the executioner. Under this impression towards his Lordship's noble acts

in favour of Tone, we carry strongly in our minds a sorrowful remembrance of the tragic fate of Lord Kilwarden himself, on July 23rd, 1803, at the hour of the inauspicious attempt at revolution by the unhappy Robert Emmett.

The doubts which young Tone cast upon the manner of his father's death, incline us to suppose, that it was possible his catastrophe might have been accelerated by the satellites of the prison, in order to evade the mandate of the Habeas Corpus issued by the Lord Chief-Justice. In the interim after his condemnation, Tone addressed a feeling letter to the Executive Directory of France in favor of his wife ; another to General Kilmaine, an Irishman, and two letters to Mrs. Tone, bidding her an eternal farewell. On the morning of the 19th of November, 1798, T. W. Tone expired in the dungeon of the provost.

The intense interest excited in France when it was understood how T. W. Tone fell into the hands of the English after the defeat of Admiral Bompard's expedition, will be dear to the Irish heart, which, if not callous to every impulse of humanity, will ever entertain for his memory and sufferings the deepest sympathy and sorrow. The following letter of General Kilmaine, who was also an Irishman, will ever stand as an imperishable monument of the high character he merited as a soldier and as an adopted citizen of that country.

*"Head-Quarters at Rouen, 27th Brumaire,  
7th year of the Republic.*

"Kilmaine, General-in-Chief of the army of England, to the President of the Executive Directory.

"Citizen President—"From the assurances which the Executive Directory has given that the Adjutant-General Smith taken on board the Hoche, shall be claimed in a peremptory manner, it would be superfluous in me to request your interference a second time, but as commander-in-chief of the army in which he served with such distinction, I consider myself as in duty bound, to acquaint the Directory more particularly with the merits

of that officer. His real name is Tone ; that of Smith was assumed to conceal from the English government his residence in France, and spare to his family in Ireland those persecutions which would have been infallibly inflicted upon them. Obligated, as he had been one of the most zealous and respectable apostles of the cause of liberty in his country, to seek a refuge from its tyrants, in North America, he was called from thence on the demand of the French government, to co-operate with General Hoche in his first expedition to Ireland. He was promoted then to the rank of Adjutant-General, and served the Republic in that capacity in the army of England, where he was known to me in the most advantageous light, and had acquired by his talents and social qualities, the esteem and friendship of all the Generals with whom he served. He was employed in the expedition of General Hardy, merely as a French officer, and ought to be acknowledged in that character ; he had adopted France as his country ; his right to be considered a French prisoner of war is undoubted ; and no one can regard him in any other light. I know not what treatment the British government may reserve for him, but were it other than such as any French officer in a similar station has a claim to expect, I am clearly of opinion, that the Directory should designate some British prisoner of superior rank to serve as an hostage and undergo precisely the same treatment that Adjutant-General Smith may suffer from the British government. By this measure you may save to the Republic, one of its most distinguished officers ; to liberty, one of its most zealous and enlightened defenders ; and a father to one of the most interesting families I have ever known.

“Health and respect,”

“KILMAINE.”

The following speech was pronounced by Lucien Buonaparte, brother to Napoleon, and president of the Council of Five Hundred, in favor of the widow and children of Theobald Wolfe Tone :—“Representatives of the people—I rise to call your attention towards the

widow and children of a man whose memory is dear and venerable to Ireland and to France—the Adjutant-General Theobald Wolfe Tone, founder of the United Irish Society, who was betrayed and taken in the expedition to Ireland, and perished in Dublin, assassinated by the illegal sentence of a court-martial. Wolfe Tone only breathed for the liberty of his country. After attempting every means to break the chains of British tyranny at home, he was invited by our government to France, where, from the fifth year of the republic, he bore arms under our colours. His talents and his courage announced him as the future Washington of Ireland. His arm, whilst assisting in our battles, was preparing to fight for his own country. He served under the pacificator of La Vendee (Hoche) that hero whom a fatal and unexpected stroke has plunged into a premature tomb. The certificates which I now submit to you, contain the analysis of his campaigns and of his misfortunes.” (Here, the orator read the certificate of General Simon.) “It is precisely one year since on the same day and in the same month, a court-martial was assembled to try a general officer in the service of our republic. Let us examine the papers of that day.” (The orator then read the papers containing the whole account of the trial and defence of General Tone.)

“You have heard the last words of this illustrious martyr of liberty? what could I add to them? you see him under your own uniform in the midst of this assassinating tribunal, in the midst of this awe-struck and affected assembly. You hear him exclaim—‘after such sacrifices for the cause of liberty, it is no great effort at this day, to add the sacrifice of my life. I have courted poverty; I have left a beloved wife unprotected, and children whom I adored, fatherless.’ Pardon him if he forgot in these last moments, that you were to be the fathers and protectors of his Matilda and his fond children.

“Sentenced amidst the tears and groans of his country, Wolfe Tone would not leave to her tyrants the

satisfaction of seeing him expire by a death which the prejudices of the world call ignominious. He died by his own hand in his dungeon. The day will yet, will doubtless come, when in that same city of Dublin, and on the spot where the satellites of Britain were rearing that scaffold where they expected to wreak their vengeance on Theobald, the independent people of Ireland will erect a trophy to his memory, and celebrate yearly, on the anniversary of his trial, the festival of their union around his funeral monument. For the first time this anniversary is celebrated within these walls. Shade of a hero, I offer to thee, in our names, the homage of our deep, of our universal emotion !

“A few words more on the widow of Theobald and on his children. Calamity would have overwhelmed a weaker soul. The death of her husband was not the only one she had to deplore. His brother \* was condemned to the same fate, and with less good fortune or less firmness, perished on the scaffold : if the services of Tone were not sufficient of themselves to rouse your feelings, I might mention the independent spirit and firmness of that noble woman, who, on the tomb of her husband and of her brother, mingles with her sighs, her aspirations for the deliverance of Ireland—I would attempt to give you an idea of that Irish spirit which is blended in her countenance, with the expression of her grief. Such were those women of Sparta, who, on the return of their countrymen from battle, among whom they sought their husbands, their sons and brothers, and not finding that these their relatives had escaped, exclaimed, ‘ they died for the republic and their country.’

“The widow, the children of Tone are before you. The law of the 14th Fructidor only allows them a pen-

\* Matthew Tone held the rank of captain in the grenadiers belonging to Humbert's expedition to Ireland : He and Teeling of Lisburn, being recognized to be Irishmen, were hurried to Dublin, after the surrender of the French, and being tried by court-martial, were ordered immediately to be executed and beheaded. Sullivan who was also Irish, and attached to the same expedition, escaped that bloody sentence, having been taken for a Frenchman. *Tone's Memoirs.*

sion of three hundred francs : but in that very law the case of eminent services rendered to the cause of liberty is foreseen. The families of heroes are then to be relieved by a special decree of this house. I claim this special decree. I submit to you, the demands made to the Executive Directory, and the attestations of the United Irishmen."

The orator then demanded the formation of a special committee, to which his motion and the accompanying documents should be referred, in order to report upon them. He expatiated upon the manner in which the British Government had repeatedly violated the rules of war, and of national law, and instanced the cases of Napper Tandy arrested at Hamburgh, and Dolomieu imprisoned by the queen of Naples. He closed his speech with this beautiful peroration.

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#### CHAPTER XXIII.

Lucien Buonaparte concludes with sympathetic feeling for Ireland and the family of T. W. Tone. The insurrection of Wexford. John Philpot Curran.—John Philpot Curran portrayed in his varied and inimitable qualities. Curran delighted his auditory. A quotation from Horace descriptive of Curran, and in accordance with his great talents.—Curran is admitted to surpass all his contemporaries in the versatility of his genius, and in all his attributes none equalled him. Quotation.—The various qualities of Curran's mind described: comparison with Burgh. Obstacles that impeded his progress in early life.—The political life of John Philpot Curran when in parliament, he united with George Ponsonby.—Fitzgibbon. Mr. Ponsonby Lord Chancellor. Curran retired on a pension: his death soon followed: place of interment. Quotation.—Robert Emmet. Principles commenced, aged 21 years: retired to the Continent in '98. Peace of Amiens.—Buonaparte. England. A revolution in Ireland thought to be practicable. An alliance with France thought by the United Irishmen to be practicable. A separation from England.—Plans of Robert Emmet. Mr. Nicholas Gray. Expenditure of money by Mr. H. Hughes and Mr. R. Emmet, to aid the insurrectionary movement. Biographical sketches on Mr. R. Emmet.—The various qualities of Emmet designated. The leader of those with whom he associated.—The name of Ireland respected by the world. The sorrowful and lamented end of Robert Emmet.—The plans and projects of Emmet well matured. The depot for implements of war selected: another for the manufacturing of gun-powder. An explosion.

"ALLOW me, representatives, to regret, that we have not established an institution, the want of which you all must feel at this moment. I should have wished

that the sons and widow of Theobald Wolfe Tone might be solemnly adopted by the nation ; that this interesting family seated in the midst of this assembly, might receive from you, in the name of the French Republic, the pledge of its maternal regard, more precious to a magnanimous soul than any pecuniary aid. This would have been the proper recompence for the widow of a hero, and his children struck with a scene so impressive, would in future days have repeated, on the shores of liberated Ireland, in what manner you honored the memory of their father. And even now that unfortunate country, torn as she is by the scourge of her tyrants, would turn to this hall a look of gratitude, and the feeling of her tortures would be suspended for a while."

The men of Ulster greatly excited the fears and alarm of government, and the insurrection which in the county of Wexford alone had attained a height that exceeded all the other counties collectively, still, the north having been generally organised, and having evinced, so early as '96, a desire to sever themselves and their country from the domination of England, their tardiness to co-operate with Leinster when the rising had commenced, saved not only this country from revolution, but also rendered the connection with England more lasting and secure.

It now becomes a matter of justice, and therefore, incumbent on the historian of Irish affairs since the reign of William Prince of Orange, to paint, among other patriots, John Philpot Curran ; he at a particular crisis stood nobly forward to defend Theobald Wolfe Tone, in opposition to the abettors of tyranny and every species of persecution which could be devised to destroy Ireland for ever, and many of her bravest sons. That illustrious Curran was of humble origin, of careless habits, and as a celebrated writer observes, " of contemptible exterior : he rose at once, to give new lustre and spirit to an already highly enlightened and spirited profession. He had passed through the

University of Dublin unsignalised by any very peculiar honours, and was admitted to the Irish bar scarcely known and totally unpatronised. With the higher orders he had no intercourse; and had contracted manners, and adopted a kind of society, tending rather to disqualify him for advancement: but whatever disadvantages he had suffered from humble birth, were soon lost sight of amidst the brilliancy of his talents; and a comparison from what he had been to what he rose, rendered the attainments of his genius the more justly celebrated. Never did genius and eloquence appear in so many luminous forms, or in so many affecting modulations, as in John Philpot Curran."

"Every quality which could form a popular orator, was in him combined; and it seemed as if nature had stolen some splendid attribute from all former declaimers, to deck out and embellish her adopted favourite. On ordinary occasions, his language was copious, frequently elegant, yet generally unequal; but on great ones, the variety of his elocution, its luxuriance, its effect, were quite unrivalled; solemn, ludicrous, dramatic, argumentative, humorous, sublime, in irony invincible, in pathos overwhelming; in the alternations of bitter invective, and of splendid eulogy, totally unparalleled; wit relieved the monotony of narrative, and classic imagery elevated the rank of forensic declamation. The wise, the weak, the vulgar, the elevated, the ignorant, the learned heard and were affected: Curran had language for them all. He commanded alternately\*

\*———"Tristia mæstum

Vultum verba decent: iratum plena minarum,  
Ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu;  
Formatenim natura prius nos intus ad omnem  
Fortunarum habitum; juvat aut impellit ad iram,  
Aut ad humum mærore gravi deducit et angit;  
Post effert animi motus interprete linguâ.—Hor. A. P.

*Translated.*

The varying face should every passion show,  
And words of sorrow wear the look of woe;  
Let it in joy assume a vivid air,  
Fierce when in rage, in seriousness severe,

the tear or the laugh ; and at all times acquired a despotic ascendancy over the most varied auditory.

"These and such-like were the endowments of early Curran, and these were the qualities which, united to an extraordinary professional versatility, enabled him to shoot like a meteor beyond the sphere of all his contemporaries.

"In private and convivial society many of his public qualities accompanied him in their fullest vigour, his wit was infinite and indefatigable. A dramatic eye anticipated the flights of an unbounded fancy, but the flashes of his wit never wounded the feelings of his society, except perhaps those minds of contracted jealousy, which shrink up from the reluctant consciousness of inferiority. He was however at times very unequal : as in a great metropolis, (to use one of his own illustrations) 'the palace and the hovel, splendour and squalidness, magnificence and misery, are seen grouped and contrasting within the same precincts.' There were occasions when his wit sunk into ribaldry, his sublimity degenerated into grossness, and his eloquence to vulgarity ; yet his strength was evident even in his weakness. Hercules spinning as a concubine, still was Hercules, and probably had Curran been devoid of these singular contrarieties, he might have glided into a brilliant sameness ; and like his great contemporary Burgh, though a more admired man, he would probably have been a less celebrated personage.

"The innumerable difficulties he had to encounter in early life, were not easy to conquer, but once conquered, they added an impetus to his progress. His ordinary, mean, and trifling person—his culpable negligence of dress, and all those disadvantageous attributes of early indigence, were imperceptible or forgotten

For nature to each change of fortune forms  
The secret soul, and all its passions warms ;  
Transports to rage—dilates the heart with mirth,  
Wrings the sad soul, and bends it down to earth ;  
The tongue these various movements must express,  
And fitly touch the sufferer's deep distress.

amidst his talents, which seldom failed to gain a decided victory over the prejudices even of those who were predetermined to condemn him.

“ His political life was unvaried ; from the moment he became a member of the Irish Parliament his temperature never changed. He pursued the same course founded on the same principles. He had closely connected himself in party and in friendship with Mr. George Ponsonby ; but he more than equalled that gentleman in the sincerity of his politics. From the commencement to the conclusion of his public life, he was the unvaried advocate of the Irish people ; he never for a moment deserted their interest, or abandoned their defence. He started from obscurity with the love of Ireland in his heart ; and while that heart beat, it was his ruling passion.

“ As a mere lawyer he was in no estimation, but as an able advocate he had no rival : and in his skill and powers of interrogation he vastly excelled all his rivals. He never failed to uphold the rights and independence of the Irish bar on every occasion where its privileges were invaded, and the bench trembled before him when it merited his animadversions. None ever assailed him publicly who was not overthrown in the contest ; and even the haughty arrogance of Fitzgibbon \* seldom hazarded an attack, being certain of discomfiture,

“ Mr. Curran was appointed master of the rolls (Mr. Ponsonby then Lord Chancellor.) He was disappointed in not obtaining a legal situation more adapted to his description of talents. He was also chagrined in not having obtained a seat in the imperial parliament, and at length resigned his office, upon a pension of two thousand seven hundred pounds per annum. He died at Brompton, on the 14th of October, 1817, after a

\* Mr. Curran and Lord Clare, whilst the latter was Attorney-General, had on one occasion a controversy which could only be terminated by a personal battle. The combatants fired two cases of very long pistols at each other, but with very bad success, and very little *eclat*, for they were neither killed, wounded, satisfied, nor reconciled ; nor did either of them express the slightest disposition to continue the fight.

short illness, and now not a stone tells where he lies." His funeral was private and he was buried in the yard of Paddington Church.\* The author of the above anecdotes knew him well. He had too much powers to last, and everything was worn out by incessant action. He was never fond of show, and in his latter days he both sought and obtained obscurity.

Our thoughts now turn to the history of a hero rarely to be matched in the annals of olden times: the very mention of the name of Emmet fills the breast of an Irish patriot with reminiscences that tell him, Ireland had her sons of tried valor in '98, but none to surpass the genuine ardour of patriotism which burst forth in the heart of Robert, within five short years of the ever memorable epoch of '98.

The early principles of Thomas Adis Emmet, who was the bosom friend and associate of Theobald Wolfe Tone, were identically those of Robert, who glowing with the ardour of youth for the fulfilment of his wishes in his attempts to bring about the separation of Ireland from England, commenced his projects of revolution at the age of twenty-one years. Robert Emmet rendered himself conspicuous by his principles in '98, whereas it became a matter of prudence to seclude himself from his country and reside on the continent until more lenient measures than were then pursued might arise, and justify him in returning to Ireland.

Previously to this, when the peace concluded at Amiens, between England and France, had ceased, and war had broken out anew, the United Irishmen in Paris held flattering hopes that Buonaparte, the then ruler in France, would turn his attention to the state of Ireland, and view in her a resource that would eventually favour his designs on England.

\* Absint inani funere nenîæ, luctusque turpes, et querimonîæ:

Compesce clamorem, ac sepulcri mitte supervacuos honores

Hor. Car. II. Ode XX.

*Translated*—Let not the funeral dirge accompany my remains, neither sad lamentations nor complaints: suppress your shouts, and omit the empty honors of the tomb.

To effect a revolution in their own country, appeared to Robert Emmet, to his brother, and to their adherents who had been in France, to be practicable ; and, therefore, that ardent young man was deemed competent to make the attempt. He returned to Dublin under an assurance, that France would assist as an ally in its accomplishment, and as he himself confesses in his defence, before the judges who condemned him, nothing was more foreign in their intentions than to transfer their country to a foreign force, destined to aid them in severing Ireland from Great Britain for ever.

Immediately after his arrival, from the French capital, in his native city, he took obscure lodgings in Harold's-cross, and lived under the name of Hewit. He then rented a house near Rathfarnham, in order to begin the plans that would be requisite for this Herculean attempt, and to obtain the assistance of others who would favour his designs, and co-operate in these new projects which had been devised before his return from the continent.

Many who had been concerned in '98 started up for Robert Emmet, and among others Mr. Nicholas Gray, who had been deeply implicated in the Wexford insurrection. It is an indubitable fact, that his brother-in-law, Mr Harry Hughes, contributed two thousand pounds to help the various expenses, and to the procuring of arms necessary for the plans of Emmet, who had himself expended two thousand five hundred pounds, in the preparation of depots, and forwarding delegations to various parts of the kingdom.

The picture which has been drawn by a talented friend, of the worth, excellence and patriotism of the youthful Robert Emmet, is taken from the pen of his early biographer ; and we give it now to our readers with the accuracy due to the memory and mention of his name :—

“There are few persons whose name is so hailed by the young and ardent, and whose character has produced a greater effect upon society, than that of Robert Emmet.

“ Emmet was moulded in nature's happiest combination for his destined service. He possessed the physical qualities necessary to an accomplished speaker, with high intellect to master and employ knowledge; with imaginations and feeling to sway the passions and the heart; and with a power of incessant labor to collect, discipline, and perfect the varied materials of a revolutionary undertaking. When love of country is united with great virtues, and both are embellished by learning, taste, and talent, we then see man in his proudest form. We overlook or forget all that is weak, frail, or mortal in human nature, and look up to him as a being of superior order. Such was Emmet.

“ His amiable and esteemed character gave an elevating influence to the fame of the society of which he was the leader;—many of whom, though of equal talent and respectability, were inferior in that fine sensibility of heart and constancy in friendship which gained him the love and esteem of all who knew him. Nor was it only for his bland manners and constancy in friendship, and firmness of principle: he ranked amongst the highest of its gifted sons who introduced the name of Ireland to the respect of the world.

“ Commensurate with his value to relatives and friends, and to this his native city, was the appalling sensation that pervaded his country on the occasion of his lamented death. It is not surprising that his removal, in one unexpected moment, from this busy life's vocations, to the oblivious silence of the tomb, should produce a general burst of sorrow, which it did.”

Robert Emmet, the better to conceal his projects for revolution, kept himself secluded from those ranks in society, to whom his respectability of family and education would afford him easy access; he sought only the acquaintance of those whom he looked upon not to be averse, from their character in '98, to coincide in opinion and co-operate in deed. During four months few even knew of his arrival in Dublin: from the secrecy

of his measures, when the commencement of his depots was established, it may be easily inferred, that neither means nor mind were wanted to advance the general plans of this extraordinary confederacy, which was hastening (as they believed) to the successful issue of so great an enterprise.

The principal depot into which the various implements for this national struggle were collected, was Marshalsea-lane, in Thomas-street; that in Patrick-street, was intended chiefly for the manufacturing of gun-powder, and this having been blown up by accident, the explosion produced serious alarm to Mr. Emmet. To obviate suspicion, it was set forth in the newspapers that coiners had been at work, and that some combustibles, used in the fabrication of false money, being ignited produced the explosion. The men who proved themselves faithful to Emmet, were indefatigable in their exertions to forward everything appertaining to the designs of their leader. The two who were chiefly sent to communicate with many influential from wealth and connections, were John Lennon and Henry Hope.

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### CHAPTER XXIII.

Hope and Lennon. Robert Emmet. White-Bull Inn, Thomas-street. Marshalsea-lane. The then W. B. Inn, now No. 137 Thomas-street.—Emmet's depot. Mr. Dillon. Fleming traitor to Emmet. Tom Reynolds the arch informer: note on the relatives of Reynolds.—Secret wall. Pikes and pike handles: bored planks containing gun-powder &c. Places to be assailed. Fire arms &c. The Castle — Explosion in Patrick-street. Street-liners. Invention by Finerty the informer. Hand-grenades. Expected aid from Kildare, Wicklow and Wexford.—Rice of Donnybrook. Officers appointed; failure in attending to their posts. Emmet opposed to postpone the insurrection.—A man named Power of Prosperous informs the Government. Major Wilcock of Chapelizod, and Clarke of Palmerstown. Robert Emmet, his dress and uniform.—The insurgents commence. Lord Kilwarden, and Rev. Mr. Wolfe murdered: cruelty in the murder of Lord Kilwarden.—Emmet escapes: accompanied by his officers, they fly to the Wicklow mountains. The sad destiny of Emmet.—

The trial of Emmet. Lord Norbury. Plunket the Attorney-General : his elevation due to the father of Emmet — Place of execution : Emmet addresses the Bench — Emmet vindicates his character. Lord Norbury. Emmet's intrepid address to the Judges. — Mr. Emmet sustains and vindicates his character. Lord Norbury. — Defence of his reputation fearlessly continued by Emmet. — The spirit and noble sentiments of Emmet continue unsubdued upon his trial : he denied having bargained, according to the taunts of his judges, with France, to betray his country to them. — The Orange faction. Connexion only was intended with France, as auxiliaries in war, and as allies in peace, the aid of France was sought for and promised.

In the house of H. Hope, between Belfast and Carrickfergus, the insurrection which was determined should take place in the counties of Down and Antrim, was planned in 1798; he was always termed by Emmet the *faithful Hope*. To him the rising of Belfast, at this juncture, was confided. From thence, after the failure at insurrection, he secretly withdrew and proceeded to Westmeath, from where he was forced to retire and proceeded to Drogheda, and there he subsisted himself by weaving upon the loom. Lennon likewise was forced by pinching necessity to live by labour in the town of Drogheda, after endeavouring in vain to raise funds from some wealthy individuals who had been privy to Emmet's projects : Lennon's expectations were, to commence in Dublin, the manufacture of linen, from his knowledge of the trade : but no aid for him or Hope, could be elicited, after the sad fate and end of Robert Emmet.

The following is from the lips of J. Lennon, the faithful adherent of Emmet's cause. The depot was at the rere of the then White Bull Inn\* in Thomas-street : it opened into a lane parallel with Thomas street,

\* The depot may be still viewed : in this portion of the extensive concerns belonging to W. J. Fitzpatrick, Esq., (opposite St. Catherine's Church, and corner of Bridgefoot-street,) the depot of Emmet stands. The study room, the sleeping room, and that named the depot, in which were deposited so many thousand pikes, &c. &c. are a curiosity worthy to be looked at. This remnant of Irish curiosity being the property of the author of the Life of Lord Cloncurry, I trust from his goodness and genuine patriotism, that it will long continue and be permitted to stand as a monument to the memory of Robert Emmett. With sincerity and best wishes, I trust also, that the admirable production of the Life of Lord Cloncurry may raise the fame of its illustrious author, W. J. Fitzpatrick, Esq., to the celebrity to which his merit and talents entitle him.

and crossed by that which leads to the Marshalsea. There was a door, No. 139, over which the name of Murphy was to be seen, which led into the depot and communicated with the yard of the inn. From this hotel, kept by a Mr Dillon, all matters of food, drink, &c. &c. were supplied daily for the men in the depot, and the hostler belonging to the inn, whose name was Fleming, was the caterer. Fleming became the betrayer of Emmet and his people, and some features in the perfidy of this informer might be assimilated to the arch-informer. Tom Reynolds.\*

The construction of the wall, inside of which thirty thousand pikes were secreted, was singularly built: a frame corresponding with the height and breadth of the room, being first made, a regular brick wall was built within this frame, which was raised and lowered by windlasses whenever necessary: the upper loft being without any partition, admitted the raising of the wall, which could be then suspended by hooks of an enormous size. The pike-handles were nine feet long, besides the heads, which were fastened in by driving them: the handles were sawn in timber yards; they were of the best red deal. A quantity of pikes made like a flail for threshing corn, was

\* It has not been yet made known to our readers, that Tom Reynolds of infamous memory, poisoned his mother and his mother-in-law. His mother being an obstacle to his purposes of betraying the United cause of his countrymen, he administered the poison, one morning, while they were alone at breakfast. He pretended to her that he wanted something from an adjoining room: she went to procure it; he then put the fatal dose into her cup. While the mother of this monster lay lingering in agony the same day, her first cousin, Mr. James Fitzgerald of Nurney, who is still living, entered her apartment to see her; she exclaimed, "I am poisoned, my dear James, by my own hopeful son." She expired the same night. Mrs. Wetherington, the mother-in-law of Reynolds, obtained from him the loan of £300, to purchase a cornetcy for her youngest son in the 9th Light Dragoons. In order to get the money back into his pocket, without the knowledge of any member of her family, he adopted the summary mode of dispatching her by poison similarly as he did to his own mother. This monster's iniquity and accumulation of crimes, have entailed upon the Irish nation, the annual sum of £1000, sterling, a year, to be paid to his *goodly* sons and their mother, as if the blood-money already paid to himself, which amounted at the time of his death, to the enormous height of £45000, had not sufficiently requited the bloody services of the monster Reynolds!!! He died in Paris, and his corpse was brought to England, and buried in the churchyard of Welton, an obscure village of Yorkshire, August, 1836.

prepared, and intended for an attack on the Castle, &c., they were to be borne beneath a great coat for concealment. The pointed part, in the middle of the handle, was rendered strong by a rounded plate of brass, which was fastened by a wire spring.

Beams of planks were bored like pumps which were intended for the attack on the Castle gate: these were to be filled each with twenty-four pounds of powder and a quantity of carnails and small pieces of iron. Tubes made of brass were to be used in igniting these exploding beams. Several thousand pikes were to be distributed and conveyed within hollow planks of deal, made so as to resemble balk.

Muskets, carbines, blunderbusses and pistols were collected into the depot of Marshalsea lane.

Powder in casks, and ball cartridges were carefully provided and prepared. The explosion in Patrick street embarrassed their projects for a while, but other plans quickly succeeded to obtain supplies of the articles destroyed. Major Sirr, after two days of searching, discovered two barrels of powder which, at the moment of being sent to the Castle, was rescued, and a man of Sirr's shot in the scuffle. The car, horse and powder were all forwarded to Rathcoffy, County Kildare, by some of Emmet's people.

Strong boards (which they called street-liners), were prepared for being spread over the streets; these were perforated with spike nails, to annoy the cavalry, and impede their progress in charging.

Tables made of oak, a yard square, having a number of steel springs, were invented for throwing shells, as if thrown by a mortar. This invention of Finerty, who turned informer, was purchased from him by the government.

A quantity of hand grenades were made, and prepared for being thrown among the soldiery when passing: stones and missiles were carried into the upper rooms of houses, for the same purpose: some of the beams intended to be exploded at the Castle gate, were to be placed across Bridgefoot street and Thomas street, in order to retard the troops.

Men were expected from the county Kildare, from Wexford, and Wicklow-counties: the latter were to attack the Pigeon-house, and were to be commanded by a man named Rice, from Donnybrook. He staid away from his post, consequently the men could not have acted.

The project of attack was admirably arranged, to ensure success, if the officers who were nominated to command the different points, had stood forward to head their men, and to lead them boldly to the fight.

It may partially extenuate the blame attached to the Dublin leaders for their having totally abandoned Emmet and his cause in the hour of peril, when it is understood, that information had been given at the Castle of the intended rising, five hours before it took place; and six pieces of cannon had arrived, and were ready at the spot where the attack was to take place.

It was urged by many of Robert Emmet's men who were his most zealous partisans, that any attempt upon the Castle would fail, they besought him to suspend, for three weeks longer, the rising of his men.

This he refused to accede to, saying, that he was pledged, and that no alternative remained but to make the attempt. Under these assurances from Emmet, it was concluded, that failure would ensue, and the Dublin leaders accordingly relinquished their posts.

Robert Emmet and his few faithful followers determined to begin this national struggle on the night of the 23rd July, 1803; these faithful few with their leader Emmet, sallied forth and began the conflict; to win the battle or die in the attempt.

The first information that was given to government of the intended rising, was by a man named Power, from Prosperous; for this he received a pension. Major Wilcock from Chapelizod, and Mr Clarke of Palmerstown, were the next who informed Government, that an insurrection would break out that night. Bodies of the Palmerstown weavers went away earlier that evening than usual, and hastened to the depot to be armed.

Robert Emmet, armed with a pike and pistols, was dressed in the full uniform of an insurgent general, in a green coat with epaulettes of gold and lace, white waistcoat edged with green, white pantaloons, cocked hat with a splendid white feather. There were also a few dressed (having but one epaulette) in a similar uniform. The crowds that pressed forward in quest of arms, were regularly supplied, but the numbers, as anticipated, did not rush to the battle field. Disorder in their ranks soon began to display itself, and the expostulations of their brave commander were not attended to.

To the Castle, was Emmet's cry, and that the taking of it depended on themselves. In their march through Thomas street, resistance was made from the old market house by a party of soldiers stationed in it. Their fire discomfited the insurgents, but these (a few standing firmly together) drove them from thence ; the soldiers retreated to the Coombe. Immediately after this the melancholy fate of Lord Kilwarden followed.

Passing in his carriage, accompanied by his daughter and nephew, the Rev. Mr. Wolfe, he stopped and demanded what was the object of the crowd. On a sudden being asked by some, "who are you?" he ingenuously told his name, and on hearing their object, remonstrated on their illegal and dangerous attempts. One of the crowd, a man from Prosperous, aided by others, dragged him out, butchered both himself and nephew ; the lady was permitted to pass on ; her screams and distress surpassed description.

The murder of Lord Kilwarden was most heinous and unpardonable. The intrepidity displayed by that venerable judge in the case and history of Theobald Wolfe Tone, when urged by Tone's advocate, John Philpot Curran, as has been already adverted to, should eternise his worth and enshrine his memory in the hearts of Irishmen. The excess perpetrated by the act of his murder, will admit of no palliation: every lover of his country should deplore the death of the venerable Lord Kilwarden.\*

\* Multis ille quidem flebilis occidit, nulli flebilior (ut decebat) quam *Hibernicis*.—*Horr.*

This murder proved peculiarly disastrous to the cause of Emmet. This youthful leader, full of ardour and honour, smitten to the heart for the conduct of his ungovernable followers, cried out, "such scenes of murder cannot be admitted ; I and the few officers who accompany me, will abandon you, unless you obey us your leaders, unless you restrain yourselves from committing what will tarnish our cause for ever."

Dismay and discomfiture were now apparent among the insurgents. They began to break and fly from the soldiery, who were arriving in great numbers and becoming too strong to be driven back. Emmet and the few followers who clung closely to his fate, escaped the fire of the musquetry. They eluded the vigilance of the scouts and the guards who had been widely spread through the city to seize all stragglers that could be met with.

After getting clear of the suburbs they proceeded in a body of about fourteen men ; they arrived among the mountains of Wicklow without interruption, where after passing a few days in deliberating upon what was best to be done, Emmet was advised to proceed to Arklow, where it might be possible to obtain a fishing smack, and escape to France. The destiny of poor Emmet was fast approaching: he was opposed to the counsel of his few faithful friends, and after some melancholy observations on the failure of their cause, and recommending some to proceed to Kildare, and to endeavour to evade the pursuit of their enemies, he expressed a desire of returning secretly to Dublin, where he would see if anything could arise and remedy the failure of their cause.

Immediately after this Emmet returned to Dublin, and in an *evil hour* took lodgings at Harold's-cross, in the house of Palmer, who soon betrayed him to Major Sirr. This noted character made his capture of Emmet secure.

His attendants, the guards, were at hand, and resistance was impracticable, whereas Sirr got secretly into the house, and seized him while writing at his desk.

The day previous to his arrest, the patriotie Emmet handed to his faithful John Lennon, ninety guineas for himself and eight fellow sufferers who were secretly keeping together at Rathcoffy, at the house of a farmer Frayne. He betrayed them to government: they were arrested in the county Galway: Lennon escaped at Oranmore, same county, the night of their arrest: he lived for some years subsequently unsubdued by adversity and unsullied in character.

We return to Emmet. It is admitted that he loved the daughter of John Philpot Curran, and it is likewise well known, that he wished, if possible, to obtain an interview, and for that end wrote her some letters prior to his arrest.

The amiable lady received his assurances of attachment with mutual affection. After his tragical demise and execution, Miss Curran became inconsolable for the fate of her dear Emmet.

She married an officer who wooed and obtained her hand. They travelled to Sicily, where she died broken in heart and mind for the fate of her first lover.

Χαλεπον κομη φιλησι,	Benè Anacreon. durum est non anare	
Χαλεπονδε και φιληται,	Durum est atiam amare,	[Latine.
Χαλεπωλιερον δε παντων,	Durissimum vero est,	
Απουζχανειν φιλησι.	Non fuit re amatâ.	

On the 19th of Sept. the trial of Emmet commenced.

He was tried by Lord Norbury, and the Barons George and Daly, Judges. The prosecution was conducted with peculiar virulence against the prisoner. The speech of Plunket, king's counsel, has afforded a specimen of what human nature is capable of. Plunket's early patronage was strengthened by that of Dr Emmet, father to the victim about to be immolated, and now designated, in the words of his accuser, as a rebel of the blackest die.

Emmet's condemnation was speedily decided. On the day following, he was brought to Thomas Street, the scene of his attempts at revolution, and opposite Saint Catherine's Church, the gallows was erected for this sorrowful tragedy. In the same place eighteen more victims, for the same cause, were sacrificed.

"*Quæ bellua ruptis, cum semel effugit reddit se prava catenis.*" What animal that breaks its chains, returns to its fetters. (Had Emmet but escaped to France, what a picture might he have drawn of his country and her people). Fate ordained it otherwise. He returned to the axe of the executioner, who, after severing the head from the body, cut the body into quarters, and raising the head on a pike, cried aloud, "behold the head of a traitor." His remains lie in Bully's acre, without a stone to commemorate the name of the martyred Robert Emmet.

After his trial had ended, the noble soul of the condemned victim burst forth an effusion of eloquence, which penetrated into the recesses of the heart; and to catch the attention and sympathy of our readers, it is now given in the same words that flowed from the lips of that illustrious youth, who sacrificed both life and fortune for the love of his country.

Robert Emmet, Esquire.

In reply to Lord Norbury, on being asked, why sentence of death and execution should not be pronounced on him, according to law.

"My Lords—I am asked what I have to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced on me according to law. I have nothing to say which can alter your predeterminations, nor that it will become me to say, with any view to the mitigation of that sentence by which I must abide; but I have that to say which interests me more than life, and which you have laboured (as was necessarily your office in the present circumstances of this oppressed country) to destroy. I have much to say why my reputation should be rescued from the foul accusations and calumny which have been heaped upon it. I do not imagine, that seated where you are, your minds can be so free from impurity as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trammelled as this is; I only wish, and the utmost I expect is, that your

Lordships will suffer it to float down your memories, untainted by the foul breath of prejudice, until it find some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms by which it is at present buffeted.

Were I only to suffer death, after being adjudged guilty by your tribunal, I should bow in silence and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur: but the sentence of the law which delivers my body to the executioner will, through the ministry of the law, labour in its own vindication, to consign my character to obloquy; for there must be guilt somewhere, whether in the sentence of the court or in the catastrophe, that must determine.

A man in my situation, has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the force of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice. The man dies but his memory lives; that mine may not perish, that it may live in the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall have joined those bands of martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold, and in the field, in defence of their country, and of virtue, this is my hope—I wish that my memory and name may animate those who survive me—while I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government which upholds its dominion by their blasphemy of the Most High—which displays its power over man, as over the beasts of the field—which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hand in the name of God, against the throat of his fellow, who believes or doubts a little more or a little less than the government standard—a government which is sated to barbarity, by the cries of the orphans, and the tears of the widows it has made.”

Here, Lord Norbury, one of the judges, interrupted Mr Emmet, saying, that the mean and wicked enthusiasts who felt as he did, were not equal to the accomplishment of their wild designs.

“I appeal to the immaculate God!—I swear by the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear!! by the blood of those murdered patriots who have gone before me!!—that my conduct through all this peril and through all my purposes, has been governed only by the convictions I have uttered, and by no other view than that of their cure and the emancipation of my country from the superinhuman oppression under which it has so long and too patiently travailed—and that, I confidently and assuredly hope, that wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength enough in Ireland to accomplish this noble enterprise!!! Of this I speak with confidence—of intimate knowledge,—and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence. Think not, my Lord, that I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness. A man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie, will not hazard his character with posterity by asserting a falsehood on a subject so important to his country, and on an occasion like this. Yes, my Lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country be liberated, will not leave it in the power of envy to impeach the probity which he means to preserve even in the grave to which tyranny consigns him.” Here again he was interrupted by the court.

“Again, I say, that what I have spoken, was not intended for your Lordships, whose situation I rather commiserate than envy. My expressions were for my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of affliction.”

Here Lord Norbury told him that he did not sit there to hear treason. “I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law; I have also understood, that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience and to speak with humanity, to exhort the victims of the law, and to offer with tender benignity, their opinion of the motives by which their prisoner was actuated in the crime of which he has been found guilty.

That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt ; but where are your boasted institutions? and where are the vaunted impartiality, clemency and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate man whom your *policy and not justice*, is about to deliver into the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the motives by which he was actuated? My Lords, it may be a part of the angry system of justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold. But worse to me than purposed shame or the scaffold's terrors, would be the tame endurance of charges and imputations laid against me in this court ! You, my Lord, are a judge—I am the supposed culprit—I am a man,—you are a man also—by a revolution of power we might change places, though we never could change characters. If I stand at the bar of this court, and dare not vindicate my character, *what a farce is your justice ?*—if I stand at this court and dare not vindicate my character, *how dare you calumniate it ?* Does the sentence of death, which your policy inflicts on my body, also condemn my tongue to silence, and my reputation to reproach ? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence, but while I exist, I shall not cease to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions ; and as a man to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life, in doing justice to that reputation, which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my Lord, we must appear on the great day, at one common tribunal, and it will then remain for the searcher of all hearts to show a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions or actuated by the purest motives.”

Here he was again interrupted. “ My Lords, will a dying man be denied the legal privilege of exculpating himself in the eyes of the community, of a reproach thrown upon him during his trial, by charging him with

ambition, and attempting to cast away, for a paltry consideration, the liberties of his country? Why did your Lordships insult me, or rather why insult justice, in demanding of me, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my Lords, that form prescribes, that you should ask the question—the form also presents a right of answering. This, no doubt, may be dispensed with, and so might the *whole ceremony of the trial*, since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle, before your jury was impannelled. Your Lordships are but the priests of the *oracle*. I submit, but I insist on the whole of the forms.”

Here Mr. Emmet paused and the Court desired him to proceed. “I am charged with being an emissary to France—an emissary to France, and for what end? It is alleged, that I wished to sell the independence of my country, and for that end was the object of my ambition; and is this the mode by which a tribunal of justice reconciles contradictions? No, I am no emissary—and my ambition was to hold a place among the deliverers of my country—not in profit, nor in power but in the glory of the achievement! Sell the independence of my country to France! and for what? was it for a change of masters? no, but for my ambition? Oh, my country, was it personal ambition that could influence me? Had it been the soul of my actions, could I not, by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family, have placed myself amongst the proudest of your oppressors! My country was my idol: to it I sacrificed every selfish, every endearing sentiment, and for it I offer up myself, O God! No, my Lord, I acted as an Irishman, determined on delivering my country from the yoke of foreign and unrelenting tyranny, and from the more galling yoke, *a domestic faction*,\* who are the *participators* in the patricide, for the ignominy of existing, with an *exterior of splendour* and *conscious depravity*.

\* The Orangemen.

It was the wish of my heart to extricate my country from this doubly riveted *despotism* ; I wished to place her independence beyond the reach of any power on earth ; I wished to exalt her to the highest station in the world. Connection with France was, indeed, intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction and require. Were they to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought aid, we sought it, as we had assurances we would obtain it, as auxiliaries in war and as allies in peace. Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength.

Yes, my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other—I would meet them with all the fury of war ! I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country ! If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the intrenchment of liberty should be my grave !

What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish, because I should feel conscious that life any more than death is unprofitable when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection."

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#### CHAPTER XXIV.

Emmet continues to address Lord Norbury. Washington's name adduced as indicative of freedom. Names of high note declared by Emmet to be concerned in the Conspiracy. Emmet confutes the charge of having betrayed his country to France. Lord Norbury interrupts him : reminds him of the respectability of his father, Dr. Emmet. In his last appeal to his countrymen, Robert Emmet re-

quests that none will write his epitaph, until better times will arise and freedom possess the land.—The *Union* brings forth all the energies of the British ministry.—Pitt's early plans to accomplish his design.—Mr. Barney Coyle, his sufferings and imprisonment.—Secretary Cooke.—Pitt strives to strengthen his plans for the Union by quotations from the classics.—Majority in favour of the Union.—Violent opposition of the people to that disastrous measure.—To avoid insult and opposition, Pitt proposed to remove the parliament from Dublin to Cork.—Petitions from several Counties against the Union. Major Rogers commanding the military at Birr, threatened to fire upon both magistrates and people who had assembled to petition against the Union.—Lord Clare, Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Grattan.—A challenge, the interference of friends.—The Duke of Portland.—The Union becomes a law and proclaimed.—The Roman Catholic Hierarchy trusted that the Union would produce emancipation.—Rev. Arthur O'Leary pensioned.—Lord Cornwallis.—Sir Richard Musgrave's history fallacious.

“ But it was not as an enemy, that the succours of France were to land. I looked for the assistance of France—but I wished to prove to France and the world that Irishmen deserved to be assisted—that they were indignant at slavery, and are ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country. I wished to procure for my country the guarantee which Washington procured for America—to procure an aid, which by its example, would be as important as its valour,—disciplined, gallant, pregnant with science and with experience, who would perceive the good and polish the rough points of our character. They would come to us as strangers and leave us as friends, after sharing our perils and elevating our destiny. These were my views, and these only became Irishmen. I know your most implacable enemies are in the bosom of your country. I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or as your Lordship expresses it, “ *the life and blood of this conspiracy.*” You do me honour overmuch—you have given to the subaltern all the credit of the superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy not only superior to me, but even to your own conception of yourself, my lord ; men before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow

with respectful deference, and who would think themselves dishonoured to be called your friend, —who would not disgrace themselves by shaking your blood-stained hand."

Here he was again interrupted by Lord Norbury.

"What, my lord, shall you tell me, on my passage to the scaffold which that tyranny (of which you are only the intermediate executioner) has erected for my murder, that I am accountable for all the blood that has and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor! shall you tell me this, and shall I be so very a slave, as not to repel it? I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge, to answer for the conduct of my whole life, and am I to be appalled and falsified by a mere remnant of mortality? by you, too, who if it were possible to collect all the innocent blood that you have shed in your unhallowed ministry, in one *great reservoir, your lordship might swim in it.*"

Here the judge interfered.

"Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonour—let no man attain my memory, by believing, that I could have engaged in any cause but that of my country's liberty and independence, or that I could have been the pliant minion of power in the oppression or miseries of my countrymen! The proclamation of the provisional government speaks for our views—no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarities or debasement at home, or subjugation, or humiliation, or treachery from abroad. I would not have submitted to a foreign oppression—for the same reason I would resist the foreign and domestic. In the dignity of freedom I would have fought upon the threshold of my country, and its enemies should only enter by passing over my lifeless corpse; and who lived but for my country, and who subjugated myself to the danger of the jealous and watchful oppressor, and the bondage of the grave—only to give my countrymen their rights and my country her independence! and am I to be upbraided

with calumny, and not suffered to resist and repel it ! No ; God forbid !”

Here Lord Norbury told Mr. Emmett, that his sentiments and language disgraced his family, his education, but more particularly his father Dr. Emmett, who was a man, if alive, would not countenance such opinions.

To which Mr. Emmett replied—“ If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns and cares of those who were dear to them in this transitory world, Oh, ever dear and venerated shade of my departed father ! look down with scrutiny on the conduct of your suffering son, and see if I have ever for a moment deviated from those principles of morality and patriotism which it was your care to instil into my youthful mind, and for which I am now to offer up my life ! My Lords, you are impatient for the sacrifice !—the blood which you seek, is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim ; it circulates warmly and unruffled through the channels which God has created for noble purposes, but which you are about to destroy for purposes so grievous that they cry to heaven—be yet patient—I have but few words more to say—I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—my race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom—I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world—it is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph ; for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, and my memory in oblivion, until other times and other men can do justice to my character—when my country takes her place among the nations of the earth ; *then* and not till *then* let my epitaph be written ! I have done.”

The attempt made by Robert Emmett to rescue his country from English sway, having arisen after the short lapse of five years, in quick succession to the disasters and memorable epoch of '98, we thought right to

annex and subjoin one to the other, before the measure of the Union should be introduced.

The British minister Pitt having gained by his nefarious measures of pillage, burning and free quarters, the darling object of "divide et impera, i. e. divide and rule ;" the distraction of parties now placed in his hands and within his reach, ample opportunity to carry into a law the woful measure of uniting Ireland to England.

This has become the real source of misery and distress to the Irish nation, and which has so universally absorbed all the advantages that nature had conferred upon this suffering country and her people.

For twenty years preceding that baneful measure no political character on either side had ever touched upon the question of union, but in terms of marked reprobation. Waving all other considerations, it is manifest, that terror had produced an influence which had not before operated upon many. Even before the fury of the rebellion had subsided, the British ministry recommended preparatory steps, to enable the Irish government to introduce the proposal of a legislative union with plausibility and effect on the first favourable opening. In pursuance of this plan, a pamphlet was written or procured to be written by Mr. Edward Cooke, the under secretary of the civil department. It was published anonymously ; it was well understood to speak the sentiments of the British as well as the new Irish administration. It was forced into extensive circulation, and artfully called on the Irish nation still terrified with the unallayed horrors of blood and carnage, to compare the cruelty and vindictive ferocity of the Irish yeomanry towards their countrymen, with the pacific, orderly, and humane conduct of the English militia, of whom about eighteen regiments were then in Ireland. This pamphlet was looked upon as a kind of official proclamation of the government to reconcile party spirit to the contemplated measure of the union.

The citizens of Dublin, convened by the Lord Mayor

and sheriffs, nobly exerted their influence in opposition to the British minister, regarding the Union, and if spirited remonstrances could deter the premier of England from his iniquitous purposes regarding the ruin of Irish independence, that particular moment and the noble spirit displayed by the Metropolis of Ireland, should have sufficed to stem the mad proceedings of Englishmen in their bud \* concerning our country and her parliament.

In January, 1799, Pitt laboured most strenuously in the British House of Commons to break down all opposition to his darling measure of Union, by law between both countries ; during various debates, he made many quotations from the classics, particularly from the *Æneid* of Virgil, in which the poet represents queen Dido to have received the Trojans, then flying over the seas to seek a home in some foreign land, after the sacking and ruin of their city by the Greeks. She says to them after their arrival on her coasts, "*paribus se legibus ambæ invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant* i.e. let both nations becoming invincible under equal laws, form a compact of *union* that will never end." And again, *he* adduces the words of Dido, "*Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur* ; i.e. Trojan and Tyrian shall be treated by me with equal distinction." Alas ! how perfidious and false have not the words of England's first minister proved to the people of Ireland. Partiality and injustice have invariably prevailed in every new modelling and enactment of laws or measures to keep Ireland for ever in subjection to the proud queen of the seas.

Venality, the love of titles and of gold, pervaded every rank of society and found innumerable proselytes to bend their knee to British corruption and influence. Irish virtue became tarnished in many a breast having seats in the Irish House of Commons, and Cornwallis too did not fail to tamper with some of our dignitaries in Church

\* *Principiis obsta*, i.e. oppose the beginning.

and State : it is a well established matter of history, that the Most Revd. Dr. Troy and the Earl of Fingall had been sent for to hold an interview with Lord Cornwallis, then lord lieutenant of Ireland.

On the 11th of February, to which day the *House* had been adjourned, speciously pretending to have Mr. Sheridan's opposition to the Union maturely weighed, during that short interval, Pitt's energies to stifle all opponents, were renewed : on this occasion, as on every other, to carry the designs into a law, the majority in favor of it was not fewer than 141 to 25.

In Dublin the people became violent and insulted the members who had voted for the measure in the Irish House of Commons : these commotions having increased and the populace continuing to insult the Unionists, both when going to and returning from the House of Commons, it was moved, by the friends of Pitt, that the parliament should be removed to Cork, where this national and most important debate might meet with no interruption.

On the 15th of February, '99, petitions were forwarded from the counties of Dublin, Limerick, Wexford Cavan, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Meath and Fermanagh, against a legislative Union : on the introduction of the Tipperary petition, Sir Lawrence Parsons stated to the house, that Major Rogers who commanded at Birr, having been told, that there was an intention of assembling the free-holders and inhabitants to deliberate on the propriety of petitioning against a legislative union, the Major replied he would disperse them by force if they attempted it. He had applied to government for directions : and on Sunday, whilst several magistrates and gentlemen were assembled in the sessions-house, the high-sheriff Mr. Derby ordered them to disperse, or he would compel them : they were about to depart, when Major Rogers appeared at the head of a column of troops, with four pieces of cannon in front, having lighted matches, and declared, that he waited but for one word from the sheriff

to blow them into atoms. These were the dreadful measures, Sir Lawrence said, by which government endeavoured to force the Union upon the people of Ireland, by stifling their sentiments and dragooning the people into submission. Lord Castlereagh falsely asserted his total ignorance of the occurrence. "*Aliud in lingua, aliud in pectore clausum*," i.e. one thing upon the tongue, another within the breast. "*Ex uno disce omnes*," i.e. from one thing infer, by what intrigues and falsehood, the nefarious measure was carried into a law.

On February 10, 1800, Lord Clare strenuously advocated, in the House of Lords, the measure of the Union, which he subsequently regretted before his death. The majority in the peers in favor of it was 75 a. 26. The further consideration of the measure was postponed to the 14th. of March. On 17th, Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Commons, assailed Grattan with bitter sarcasms; to these Grattan replied in such severe language, that a challenge ensued, and next morning at an early hour both parties were on the ground in a field adjoining Ball's-bridge. Numbers flocked from the city to behold this pistol fight, between Pitt's wicked advocate for the Union, and the people's favourite, Grattan.

Both fired, first without effect, but in the second shot, Corry was struck upon the hand with which he had covered his right breast. The seconds now interposed and the parties left the ground.

On March 27, 1800, the articles of Union as proposed by the British Minister, were agreed to in both houses, Lords and Commons; these traitors to their country voting away the liberties of Ireland: The stigma affixed to a traitor by the poet Virgil, would be well applied to each of them. "*Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem imposuit*;" i.e. "this man sold his country for gold, and placed it beneath the *grasp* of a mighty ruler."

On the 2nd. of April, same year, the Duke of Portland informed the British House of Lords, that the articles

of Union between both countries, had been ultimately and happily arranged. After various debates in both houses, all the articles emanating from our proud stepmother England, were ultimately agreed to, on June 13. On July 2nd. 1800, the Law of Union for both countries as Pitt's quotation would have it, "*æterna in fœdera mittant*," received the royal assent, accompanied as usual with the king's speech, on every event tending to exalt Great Britain and her proud sons, and lay Ireland prostrate at her feet.

August 2nd. the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick to the throne of England, the Union of Ireland with England was proclaimed in Dublin A.D. 1800, *heu nefas!* The law uniting both kingdoms into one, commenced on 1st. January, 1801.

The darling object of the Union matured and carried into a law by Pitt, was thought by many among the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland, to be the best hope for them to accomplish their freedom from all the shackles and disabilities under which they had laboured during centuries; trusting too to the promises made to them by the premier of England. This fallacious hope led them to believe, that Emancipation would speedily follow, adding dignity to the name of Catholic, and securing to their persecuted brethren of Ulster, protection from the murderous weapons of Orangemen.

About this time Dr. Woodward, the Protestant Bishop of Cloyne, published a pamphlet charging the Roman Catholics with principles hostile to the Constitution of England, and the succession of the House of Hanover to the throne. This production from the pen of that prejudiced churchman, was ably and successfully combated by the celebrated Revd. Arthur O'Leary, a catholic priest. The machinations of the British minister were soon applied to render null the effects of conciliation from springing up between the catholics and presbyterians, produced by that eminent divine O'Leary. Gold, the powerful engine of British designs, caused the pen

of this Roman Catholic priest to cease its workings : he was pensioned, but after receiving two payments of £200, it was withheld : he would have perished with want, but for the kindness of friends ; he died immediately afterwards, much to the satisfaction of those to whom his writings had given pain.

Marquis Cornwallis was very tenacious of patronising the insidious and illiberal production of Sir Richard Musgrave, which is not inaptly contrasted with the picture of Fame so ably brought forth in Virgil's *Æneid*, "*fama malum quo non aliud velocius ullum*," i.e. fame an evil than which nothing is swifter and *diffused*, and again, "*tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuncia veri*," i.e. it is equally replete with falsehood and depravity, as it is the messenger of truth.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

Lords Westmorland and Camden.—Protestant ascendancy.—Lords Cornwallis and Hardwicke.—Pitt, Orangemen, and their ferocity.—The Veto intended by Government to be imposed upon the Roman Catholic Hierarchy.—Earl Hardwicke's arrival as Viceroy.—Lord Cornwallis leaves Ireland.—Castlereagh and the Orangemen.—Mr. Abbott, Secretary.—Sir Richard Musgrave the fallacious historian of '98, appointed to a lucrative situation by Hardwicke.—Banquet to all Captains of yeomanry corps.—Major Sirr.—Jemmy O'Brien the notorious informer and assassin, arrested, tried, and executed.—Mr. Barney Coile.—Mr. Ogle and the Orangemen.—A Duel.—The place of meeting.—Lord Clare.—Pitt.—The Duke of Bedford.—Lord Redesdale.

Lord Cornwallis was as much the tool of Mr. Pitt as his immediate predecessor Lord Camden. The degradation of Ireland, by the surrender of her political existence, had been the implacable resolve of that ambitious statesman, ever since the rejection of his commercial proposition in 1785. With this view he debauched

Ireland under the Duke of Rutland. He re-established her dependance upon the British minister through the Marquis of Buckingham. He weakened her under the Earl of Westmorland. He tantalised and taunted her by the transit of Earl Fitzwilliam. He exasperated her under the Earl of Camden. He debased her under Marquis Cornwallis: and by continuing the Earl of Hardwicke in his Government, he insidiously riveted it by pretending to lighten her fetters. To each governor he allotted his part. Lords Westmorland and Camden he handed over without reserve or controul to his Irish managers: those very men whom he permitted on certain conditions to monopolize, for a time, the whole power of the state, under the insidious pretext of supporting *protestant ascendancy*. For this he allowed them to wear the mask: he well knew the baseness of their servitude, and the mischief of their deeds. Lords Cornwallis and Hardwicke played Mr. Pitt's game faithfully by curbing the ferocity of the Orangemen, and Camden by stimulating them to outrage.

Pitt and his colleagues insidiously strove to entrap the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland, during 1799, into an alliance with the state. According to their venal powers of seduction, they anticipated the ruin of the Roman Catholic doctrine by an artful proposal to the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, by offering to them and their clergy an independent provision, and thereby rescue them from all dependence upon their flocks. The name given to their artful scheme and plot, was the familiar word *Veto*, i.e. I forbid.

This deep design was based upon the approval and concurrence of the Government in appointing to every vacant see such Clergymen only as could be deemed prominent in their loyalty to the Crown.

On 26th May, 1801, Earl Hardwicke arrived in Dublin, as Viceroy. The Marquis Cornwallis his predecessor departed on 3d June: this nobleman, no doubt, Pitt's grand instrument in accomplishing the fatal measure of

the Union, proteus-like for assuming any shape that might suit his ends, flattered the Catholics into a partial acquiescence for that destructive event, but kept by his tool Castlereagh, the Orangeman and the protestant ascendancy faction in secret hostility and opposition to all concessions which the Roman Catholic body had been flattered to expect.

As Lord Hardwicke was instructed to keep on foot as much of the system as Pitt and Cornwallis had intended might be kept permanent, every arrangement which he found established by his predecessor, every project hatched by Pitt and Cornwallis, were sustained by Hardwicke with punctilious scrupulosity. The promotion of Lord Castlereagh to the British Cabinet had occasioned the necessity of appointing a new secretary; and none was found more ready to pledge himself to perform the entire functions of that office, in the real spirit of his predecessor, than Mr. Abbott. All the subaltern situations, from the Chief Secretary to the lowest runner of the police, and the whole of the Orange Magistracy, were left untouched.

One of the first acts evinced by Lord Hardwicke towards countenancing the promoters of Orangeism, was the appointment of Sir Richard Musgrave, the deceptive historian of "'98." This fallacious writer "*tam ficti pravique tenax*," was appointed to be the receiver of the customs of the port of Dublin, worth five hundred pounds per ann. A large banquet upon a most extended scale, was given by his Excellency to all captains of yeomanry corps in Ireland, and these officers repaid the compliment to their Viceroy.\* Town Major Sirr and Sandys were the incessant instruments of sanguinary persecution against the citizens and strangers visiting Dublin. Subordinate to these town-majors was a vile perjurer named Jemmy O'Brien; they all proceeded together in patrolling the city and suburbs, visiting public houses both by day and by night, and all places to which suspicion could be attached.

\* Plowden, Vol. I., p. 112.

On a Sunday a man named Hoey was passing, when O'Brien suddenly made an attack upon him while passing from Barrack street into an adjoining garden. Jemmy drew a weapon from a scabbard, attacked Hoey without provocation, whom he dispatched with several wounds inflicted by a dagger. In some time afterwards, Jemmy was arrested, and in the end, being brought to trial, was condemned and executed at New-Gate prison, where he was tried and condemned ; great joy pervaded the city in consequence of this assassin's final fate.

In 1802 Mr. B. Coile, a gentleman from the Co. Armagh, who had been grievously persecuted by the Orangemen, reproached Mr. G. Ogle, a Member of Parliament, with having uttered, at a public dinner, the following words, "*that a papist would swallow a false oath as easily as I would a poached egg.*" A challenge was given and accepted : the parties met in Coldblow-lane, but after four shots without effect an apology was given by Ogle to Coyle, after which the parties returned to the city.

This same year, Lord Clare, one of Pitt's great instruments to accomplish his wicked measure of the Union, became in the British parliament obnoxious to many Members as well as to Pitt himself. The Duke of Bedford and some Whig Lords \* expressly told him, "that the Union had not transferred his dictatorial powers to the Imperial parliament." This castigation was justly merited by one of the most energetic and prominent betrayers of his country. Lord Clare's spirits sunk into a deep and malignant distemper ; his dissolution soon followed, and in the Irish Chancellorship was succeeded by Lord Redesdale.

\* Plowden, Vol. I., p. 119.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Anniversary of King William.—College Green.—Peace of Amiens broken between France and England.—Mr. James Napper Tandy.—Deep distress and turbulence among the labouring classes.—Enormous prices for Wheat, Oats, &c., inclemency of the seasons.—Robert Emmet's conspiracy.—Dwyer, a Wicklow insurgent.—Punic faith of the Government.—Apprehensions of invasion.—The Martello towers around the coast.—Lord Redesdale, the Chancellor. Addington, Prime Minister.—Pitt and his collusive measures towards the Catholic Hierarchy.—The fall of Carthage.—The fall of Ireland. Buonaparte.—King Philip of Macedon.

A dissolution of parliament took place this year, and for the representation of Dublin, G. Ogle and John Latouche were elected. On 12th July, a renewal of Orange aggression, in solemnising the anniversary of the battle of Aughrim, occurred, around king William, in College-Green. Several yeomanry corps paraded, as during every year since the enactment of penal laws by the prince of Orange and queen Anne. This glaring and insulting display was resisted by the mob; several yeomen were severely beaten, but the military restored the assailants to order.

The peace between France and England entered into at Amiens in 1801, where the name of Cornwallis, truly disastrous to Ireland, in the measure of the Union, as is obvious to every reader, was of short duration, whereas the First Consul of the French menaced England for having infringed upon the treaty by the retention of Malta, and for having caused the city of Hamburgh to arrest or permitted to be arrested the illustrious James Napper Tandy, Irishman, to be seized by English emissaries.

Ireland became the scene of great turbulence in 1802, by the distress of the poorer classes, in some counties or districts, where labor was badly requited, and consequently the labouring class had to resort to more agri-

cultural districts, where their aid in harvest might be needed and labor would meet its reward. In the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, and Limerick, Connaughtmen congregated in such numbers, that the inhabitants had, from necessity, to enter into mutual combinations to repel all strangers from their localities, and employ those only who immediately belonged to their own district or county. Many depredations were committed by those men in distress, seeking subsistence, and looking for food and shelter. The prices for agricultural produce were raised to such a height, that farmers received four times the value of their produce, viz. wheat varying in all their markets from three to four pounds per Brl. Oats, &c, proportionably dear. The harvest succeeding the disasters of '98, became almost, to the *tiller of the land*, ruined; the incessant rains injured the produce of the land, and the summer and harvest following, were affected by a continual drought: so much so, that the potato crops almost entirely failed.

The year ensuing, i.e. 1803, has been already introduced; whereas the epoch of '98, appeared \* to become renewed from the ably concerted plans of insurrection by the ever memorable Robert Emmet and his confederates. An insurgent leader of '98, named Dwyer, surrendered himself with five associates to Mr. Hume, M. P. under an assurance that they would be, according to the terms entered into, sent to North America and permitted to reside in it. The government withheld their stipulated promise, and with *punic faith* transported them to Botany Bay, after a severe imprisonment, during two years, in Kilmainham.

The apprehensions of Government, of an invasion from France, caused them to commence the erection of Martello towers on the coast of Ireland. Fresh orders were issued by Lord Cathcart, commander in chief, to the different corps under his command, to be always ready to march in defence of the country against foreign

\* O'Kelly's History of '98, the concluding part.

and domestic enemies. Lord Chancellor Redesdale\* had been known to boast, that Ireland could never be kept in obedience, unless there be a standing force of 20,000 regular troops in that country, and every man of them a Protestant.

Addington, being prime minister, was looked upon by the thinking part of the nation, to have become too imbecile to keep together the majorities in parliament, notwithstanding the Union with Ireland, so dear to Englishmen. Pitt, by whose intrigues he had been elevated to the high rank of guiding the helm of the state, was now jealous of his obvious views in holding office after the supporters of his premiership began to slacken and withdraw that influence which kept Addington at the head of affairs. This weak minister therefore tendered his resignation to the King, which was reluctantly accepted.†

In the formation of the new ministry stands prominent the name of Pitt, who had resigned office in 1801, under the specious pretext of finding himself thwarted and unable to procure emancipation for the Catholics of Ireland, on whom he had collusively imposed a belief, that by their concurrence and approval of that measure which has proved so inauspicious to Ireland, their freedom would speedily follow. From the nobleman to the peasant, and from the most opulent of our merchants down to the pedlar who travels for his bread, all have and will have, while the Union lasts, to deplore the removal to proud England, of their Legislature; Carthage fell by the lust of power. Ireland, alas! has fallen, a victim to the indomitable ambition of Pitt and his colleagues.

Bonaparte, who had become Emperor of the French, and by his extraordinary genius the arbitrator of Europe, at the period of Pitt's being again prime minister of England, rendered the affairs of Great Britain truly complex and embarrassed: he knew, that to make Eng-

\* Plowden, Vol. I., p. 63.

† A.D. 1804, Plowden, Vol. II., p. 2.

land fear for her existence as a great nation, would be to create an alarm in the minds of Englishmen, that the invasion of their country by the arms of France, would quickly follow his conquests over the other kingdoms of Europe. The national debt of England was increased by two or three hundred millions, from the insatiable thirst of Pitt for power, not only over Ireland, but every other nation where British gold could find its way amongst them. Like king Philip of Macedon, he bribed all rivals, kings and states; "*aurum per medios ire satellites et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius ictu fulmineo.*" Hor. i.e. gold will travel amidst guards, and as a thunder-bolt more powerful, will break down *opposing* rocks.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

The King's conscience a pretext for Pitt's duplicity.—Buonaparte's career in France and Europe.—Pitt fancies himself a match for him. The Roman Catholics send a deputation to wait on Pitt.—The Corporation implacably opposed to Emancipation.—Giffard dismissed from office.—A specious pretext of Pitt to ward off Catholic Emancipation.—On March 18th and 25th, an interview was given to the Catholic deputation by Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox.—Lord Redesdale opposed in the Lords all concessions.—Lords Ormonde and Donoughmore.—Paddy Dignum, *rather* Indignum.—Henry Grattan refuted *Paddy* Indignum's assertions against the Roman Catholics.—Col. Archdall.—Habeas Corpus.—Invaders would be opposed by Roman Catholics.—Shaw, M.P. for Dublin, opposed strenuously the efforts of the Roman Catholics for Emancipation.—Lord Hardwicke. The nephew of Bishop Troy.—The port of Baltimore.—Pitt's health impaired.—Duke of Bedford.—Buonaparte and England.—Death of Pitt: his last and dying words.—The Duke of York and his father. The Duke of York, Lords Chancellor Eldon and Hawkesbury.—Death of Lord Cornwallis.—Lord Castlereagh.—Lord Hardwicke.—Duke of Bedford.

Pitt being now in the full possession of the premiership, found that the health of the king had been much enfeebled by his recent attack, and likewise discovered, that Mr. Addington the ex-minister still tampered with

the Sovereign, on the delicacy of the Coronation oath, by which he was led to believe, that freedom to the Catholics would be incompatible with his Majesty's conscience. Pitt's foreign relations had become almost extinct by the arms of France triumphant every where; his efforts now were not for universal rule but for self existence.

He reflected with desperate indignation, that Buonaparte had been made Emperor of the French, in spite of his boasted efforts to crush France and render it insignificant in the map of Europe. Pitt's ambition settled down in personal animosity, and he fancied himself the rival of that man of stupendous enterprise and portentous success. The mind of the king was frequently disturbed by the concessions which (it was anticipated) would be granted to his Catholic subjects, at some protracted period. Mr. Addington thus tampered with the English privilege, of having access to the Sovereign in all matters appertaining to the safety of the realm.

February 16, 1805, a public meeting of the Catholic noblemen, gentlemen and merchants, was convened to meet in Dublin for the purpose of sending from their body, a deputation to wait on Pitt and procure from him a promise that he would renew his former assurances, that, by giving their consent to the measure of the Union emancipation would speedily follow. The meeting was numerously attended: the Earl of Fingall, Lord French, Sir Edward Bellew, Counsellor Denys Scully, and Mr. Ryan; also Lords Gormanstown and Southwell, were the prominent names among them.\*

Trinity College was importuned to come forward and oppose the Catholic claims; the learned members of the University withheld their opposition, but the Corporation urged on by Giffard, manifested bitter and implacable antipathy to the concessions sought for by the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Lord Hardwicke, under a specious semblance of allaying the bigotry of the Orange corporation of Dublin, dismissed Giffard from being

\* Plowden, Vol. II., p. 42.

port-collector of the city. His dismissal from office was loudly complained of by his prejudiced partisans in the corporation ; their complaints however ended without reinstating him in his lucrative employment.

On March 12, 1805, the Catholic deputation consisting of the above names, waited on Mr. Pitt : he gave them an audience of fifty minutes only, admitting that their claims were most just and constitutional ; but that the period had not as yet arrived when a Catholic petition could be, with a probability of success, presented to an English House of Commons ; saying also, that the Sovereign's conscience could not from his late maladies and debility of health, be tampered with. This was all pretext, to attribute to George III. his own latent designs of crushing Ireland and her sons.

Notwithstanding Pitt's polite assurances and remonstrance to the Catholic deputation, they all concurred in applying to Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox to present their petition to parliament. They accordingly were received graciously by that nobleman and Mr. Fox. On 18th March and on 25th, same month, it came forth in both Houses, where many prejudiced Members stood up to oppose their just claims. In the Lords, Auckland raised his voice with vehemence against all future concessions to the Catholics, declaring, that, as far as his ears could catch the tenor of it, it went to overthrow the whole system of Church and State. In the Commons, Mr. Cartwright first spoke, with vindictive opposition to the whole body of Roman Catholic petitioners, affirming, that the granting of their request would raise a new rebellion in Ireland.

13th May following, the Catholic claims were renewed in both Houses of Parliament ; Lord Grenville introduced and moved them in the House of Lords, Mr. Fox in the Commons. Many opponents started up anew. Redesdale, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, evinced his bigotry and hostile opposition with intolerant bitterness : he was ably replied to by the noble mover : Lords Ormonde

and Donoughmore nobly vindicated the character and loyalty of their Catholic countrymen, therefore to them and other defenders of the natural rights of the Irish, is justly due the gratitude of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

In May also, same year, Mr. Fox undertook to move, in the House of Commons, for a total repeal of all the noxious and obnoxious laws affecting the Roman Catholic community in Ireland. The man who rendered himself most conspicuous in opposing the just demands of Irishmen, under the guidance of the illustrious patriot Mr. Fox, was Dr. Duigenan, better known by the familiar name of *Paddy Dignum* or rather *Indignum*; the bitterness and sarcasms which he uttered and poured forth against the Roman Catholics, their priests, bishops and the pope, surpassed all which could be uttered \* by the most degraded, and lowest ranks of society. The ever memorable, illustrious, and patriotic Henry Grattan gave, to this old protestant doctor, a castigation such as he richly merited. Our inimitable and the bravest among the brave, Henry Grattan, poured forth such torrents of genuine truth and eloquence, as confused, embarrassed and convinced (if it were ingenuously confessed) the British and Bæotian † audience in the House of Commons. In adverting to the causes and effects of proscription against the Irish Catholics, Mr. Grattan ably alluded to the past and the present periods of their sufferings: he says, “proscription and discord had made in Ireland, not only war, but even peace calamitous: witness the one that followed the victories of King William; to the Catholics a sad servitude, to the Protestants a drunken triumph; to both, a peace without trade and without constitution.‡ In speaking of the body of the

\* Plowden, Vol. II., pp. 124-125.

† The Bæotians were a people of Greece, famed for *stupidity and ignorance*.

‡ In Plowden, Vol. II. p. 137, mention is made of an old map in which are discoverable the limits and boundaries of the estates belonging to old Irish families.

Irish Catholics, he said, "There never was a race of men in Europe, who had preserved so much of what was good under so much oppression." "I know them well, and I know, at the same time, that whatever there is good in them, they owe to themselves, whatever is bad in them they owe to you."

Pitt of evil memory to Ireland, followed next, after Grattan. Surely we can say of him what Sallust says of Catiline, 'ingenio malo pravoq,' particularly towards our country, being wickedly disposed in ruling it, as Prime Minister of England. In alluding to the hopes held out to the Catholics, during the agitation which prevailed in all his efforts to carry the Union into effect, his words, arguments, and assurances developed fully the deepest duplicity and punie faith: 'cujus libet rei, simulator atque dissimulator,' a counterfeiter and dissembler in everything. Sall. Mr. Wyndham said to Pitt in reply, "I deprecate and solemnly protest, your arguments are unparliamentary, unconstitutional, and dangerous."\*

Mr. W. expressed the strongest hope, that the period was not remote, when the English House of Commons would and should concede the salutary, wise and just measure of emancipation.

The Hon. H. Augustus Dillon replying to the prejudices of Col. Archdall, denied that the question involved a party measure. It affected the safety of Ireland and vitality of the empire. The hearts of the Irish people had been alienated by martial-law and the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, and by other severities and oppressions. Were that measure allowed to pass, such expedients would cease to be necessary, and the mass of a brave and grateful people would present a firm and an iron bulwark for the protection of the country against every invader.

Mr. Shaw, M.P. for Dublin, strenuously opposed the motion of Mr. Fox for emancipation. His chief objections, he said, arose from the Catholic connection exist-

ing between the Pope, Buonaparte, and the Irish. At half-past four o'clock, the Ayes were only 124 in favor of the measure to emancipate the Catholics of Ireland ; Noes against it 336 : this grievous majority forged anew their chains of servitude and oppression, which was hailed with joy by the Orange faction of Dublin and Ulster.

The influence of Mr. Pitt became diminished in 1805, over those characters in Ireland who obsequiously bent to Addington and to him : Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Foster were both dissatisfied with Pitt, in his arbitrary mode of action ; the former signified his wish to be recalled from the Lord Lieutenancy, and the latter desirous to be placed over the Irish Exchequer, but Pitt opposing him he evinced his displeasure by taking his seat with the minority in the House of Commons. An action for libel was brought in 1804 by the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, against a London periodical for inserting, that his Lordship had, through his Priests, known of the insurrectionary movements of Emmett and his partisans, the preceding year, and had not communicated to government the impending danger to the state. This was too serious a charge against so high a dignitary of the Catholic Church, to be passed over in silence. The suit was tried before Lord Ellenborough : damages were awarded ; moderate, however, in their import. viz. £50 only. Consonant to the wish of the Archbishop Troy, the damages were laid at that modest sum, by his Lordship's Counsel, Erskine, averring that to efface the foul charges advanced by the writer and publisher, from his religion, was more the object of the Catholic prelate of Dublin, than pecuniary considerations.\*

We now turn to Lord Castlereagh and to his principles. For the representation of the County Down, we find a young opponent to that betrayer of his country. "*Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem imposuit :*" he sold his country for gold, and placed over it a tyrannic ruler. 1805. No sooner was it

\* Plowden, Vol. II., p. 239.

known to the public, that Lord Castlereagh was about vacating his seat, than those who had the honor and interest of the County of Down most at heart, sought for some steadfast and experienced enemy to the corrupt principles of Lord Castlereagh, who would come forward to oppose him. The Marchioness had certainly anticipated this anxiety. Lord Castlereagh had presumptuously solicited her interest. But his application is said to have met with a most spirited rebuke. At length the Hon. Colonel Meade, a son of the late Earl of Clanwilliam, a young gentleman of high military ardor, though of slight political experience, was encouraged to announce his intention of offering himself a candidate for the representation of that county. On that occasion, the Marchioness of Downshire published a short address \* to the freeholders of the County of Down. She went over with her two infant sons to stimulate and witness in person the triumph over corruption in the defeat of Lord Castlereagh, which was principally owing to her indefatigable exertions.

Although Lord Castlereagh had not apprehended any serious opposition, it was afterwards discovered that he had, for some time before his intention of vacating his seat was known, privately canvassed through his brother, the chief supporters of his interest in that county. They consisted of six or seven noble and other families of congenial principles with his own, most of the Orangemen and terrorists whose sons he had provided for at home or in India. His own family interest in the county was but moderate and merely personal, whereas he had no estate

Hanover-square, July 16th, 1805.

\* "The Hon. Colonel Meade, having offered himself as a candidate for the County of Down, the prosperity of which we may be supposed to have much at heart, I beg leave for myself and dear son, the Marquis of Downshire, to solicit your votes and interests in his favor. And I am fully persuaded, that should he be elected, his best endeavours will be used in promoting the true interests of Ireland, and those of our county in particular.

I am your faithful and obedient humble servant,

M. DOWNSHIRE SANDYS."

in it. The government patronage was converted to his election purposes. The principles of Pitt and his tool Castlereagh, had become execrated in the County of Down. The elections having commenced and the Castle-reagh party persevering in the contest, during 13 days, the young candidate, Colonel Meade, having gained a majority of 450, the former withdrew from the hustings, and the youthful Marquis was declared member for that respectable county.

Pitt's bodily health was rendered precarious by various causes ; his friends in Ireland and among them, Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Foster, evinced a coldness to the dictations of Pitt. Lord H. singularly enough removed Sir Richard Musgrave (the traducer of the Irish Catholic body and prejudiced historian of '98) from the collectorship of the Dublin City Excise. On the other hand he appointed the nephew of Dr. Troy to the collectorship of customs of Baltimore, a sea-port in Cork county. Lord Hardwicke's administration was now approaching to an end ; and the Duke of Bedford was fixed upon to be his successor. In the autumn of this year the health of Pitt was rapidly declining : his physician found it necessary that he should repair to Bath, to avoid the bad news which daily came from the Continent, regarding the triumphant career of Buonaparte and the dismay caused to the people of England by the victorious arms of France.\*

Mr. Pitt died at 4 o'Clock in the morning of 23rd January 1806. If to repent of injuries done to others be a Christian duty, Pitt's dying words furnish a presumption that remorse accompanied him in his last moments. He exclaimed frequently before his last breath, *Oh my country*. With him all the talent, energy, and credit of his ministry vanished. On the day after Pitt's death, the Duke of York was closeted with the King his father for four hours. On the next day, a Cabinet council was held, concerning that great (as they called him)

statesman, and Lawless gave notice in the House of Commons, that on 27th, he would move, that a mark of public respect be paid to that *Great Statesman*. Here follow the words of Mr. Fox.

"I," said he, "was always one of those who constantly said, that the system to which Mr. Pitt lent his aid, was an unfortunate and dangerous system, and the great cause of all the misfortunes and calamities that assailed us in the course of his administration. It was owing to him indeed, that the system maintained its ground so long. His great eloquence, his splendid talents, cast a veil over it, and concealed those things which otherwise would have been exposed in all their odious deformity. I cannot consent to confer public honors on the ground of his being an *Excellent Statesman*, on the man, who in my opinion was the sole, certainly the chief supporter of a system, which I had been early taught to believe a very bad one; and the result has proved itself finally and fatally as such."

After the death of Mr. Pitt, the Duke of York, Lord Chancellor Eldon, and Lord Hawkesbury, had frequent and very long conferences with his Majesty. A secret cabinet strenuously strove with the royal mind to preclude the patriotic and venerable name of Fox from the list of the new ministry which was about to be formed, but all their insidious efforts were unavailing, and Fox was named secretary for foreign affairs: so intent was he for procuring peace for his country, that he sacrificed the place of first Lord of the Treasury with all its patronage, to that of Foreign Secretary, which would afford facilities of bringing that great object, peace to his country.

Marquis Cornwallis, who with Pitt might be named "*par nobile fratrum*," died about this time in India. His friends and among them Lord Castlereagh moved in the Commons of England, that one of those *great men* who accomplished by their acquiescence, the measure of the Union between England and Ireland should not be forgotten by the British legislators, and therefore that a suitable monument to his memory, should be raised. Mr.

O'Hara, an Irish M.P. opposed the motion, and characterised in suitable colours the infamy of Pitt, Cornwallis, and Castlereagh, as the assassins of the liberties of Ireland, and instead of conceding the opportunity of immortalising the merits of such men, it should be vice versa, by putting over their names, "*hic patriam auro vendidit*", this man sold his country for gold, *dominumque potentem imposuit*, and placed over Ireland a powerful lord, i. e. England, "*fixit pretio leges atque refixit*," they made and unmade laws, for reward. Pitt was the purchaser, Cornwallis the agent, and Castlereagh the assassin.

March 7, 1806,\* the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act expired ; and many of the prisoners, who had been implicated in the insurrection of Robert Emmet, and had already suffered a severe imprisonment during three years, were now permitted, by the expiration of that obnoxious law, to regain their freedom ; it was generally supposed that the days of terror had ended, and that a new order of things would arise. Another great omen of future good government sprung up to the Catholics by the removal of Lord Redesdale from the Irish Chancellorship. This appeared to them in the light of an atonement for the many and unmerited insults inflicted by that haughty and aristocratic Englishman. On March 31, Lord Hardwicke took his departure for England from the Pigeon House, where he tarried for two days, hoping to receive addresses from some of his Majesty's obsequious Irish subjects ; none came to flatter, *sed tempus abeundi venit*, but the time of departure came.

The Duke of Bedford's administration now commences. Mr. Fox, being Secretary for foreign affairs, never lost sight of Ireland, hoping to ameliorate the condition of her oppressed people. He concurred with Mr. O'Hara in the House, that the Union between Great Britain and Ireland was one of the most disgraceful transactions in which the government of any country could have

\* Plowden, Vol. II. p. 280.

been involved. The debate in the House of Commons in which O'Hara's opposition to Castlereagh's advocacy for funeral honours to Marquis Cornwallis, who recently died in India, arose from the feeling sensation that the infamous measure of the Union had elicited and produced ; of this national ruin Cornwallis was the grand instrument in the hands of Pitt. The sterling integrity which marked the tenor of Mr. Fox's attention to the affairs of Ireland, manifested itself in the removal of Redesdale from the Chancellorship, and the appointment of Mr. Ponsonby to be his successor : these events, so ominous for future good government in Ireland, were but transient and illusive—the old leaven was still in embryo, and many a day had elapsed before the monster's *bigotry* and *intolerance* vanished.

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#### CHAPTER XXVIII.

Major Sirr, of great notoriety.—Mr. Ryan, of Marlborough-street, active in seeking Emancipation.—Meeting of Catholics at Mr. Ryan's. M'Donnell and Lord Southwell.—Robert Emmet.—Meeting of Catholics at the Repository, Stephen's-green.—The Convention Act. Danger of being arrested.—The Duke of Bedford, of the house of Russell.—The Duke of Bedford and Lord Hardwicke contrasted.—Dr. Lindsay, the Scotch Prelate of Kildare.—Addresses to G. Ponsonby, Lord Chancellor.—John Philpot Curran.—Death of Mr. Fox, Sept. 13, 1806 : Biography truly descriptive of the principles of Mr. Fox.—Henry Grattan returned as M.P. for Dublin : the Roman Catholics of Dublin nobly defrayed all the expenses of his election.—The Government wholly forgetful and averse of acknowledging Ireland to be their best resource to sustain the war against France.—Lord Grenville's advice for perseverance, was tenaciously adhered to by the Irish Roman Catholics.—The Catholic gentlemen appointed to wait upon Mr. Elliot, the Irish Secretary, and Mr. Ponsonby, Lord Chancellor.—Strong remonstrances against penal laws and restrictions.—The Earl of Fingall.—Resolutions to petition adopted ; the names of the gentlemen, consisting of forty-two, who had been appointed to act, are all given.—The hardships, penal laws and privations by which the Roman Catholics have been, and are still oppressed, are portrayed.—Alfred the Great.—The Edwards, the Henrys, who conquered France.—Equal laws and privileges alone sought for.—The Roman Catholics have manned and man the fleets of Eng-

land, &c.—Lord Hutchinson an Irishman.—Heroes of Egypt, Calabria, Trafalgar, &c., have been Irishmen.—Pitt's system reprobated. Buonaparte's system after his return from Egypt, compared to the wicked measures pursued and practised against the Roman Catholics of Ireland.—The laws practised against Catholic Ireland enfeeble the British Empire—March 6, 1807.—Mr. Edward Hay, Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.

The whole of the Orange magistracy remained undisturbed in the commission of the peace, and Major Sirr himself was still seen as the tutelary guardian of the Castle-yard. No change was now perceptible in the Irish government but that of the Viceroy and Chancellor. The Catholics were becoming vigilant and active in devising plans and other measures for the removal of all disabilities which affected their body : the house of Mr. Ryan in Marlborough-st. was ever ready to receive Roman Catholic gentlemen who evinced an eagerness and desire to promote their cause.\*

March 1, 1806, a numerous meeting of Catholics took place at Mr. Ryan's house ; among them the names of Mr. Mc'Donnel and Lord Southwell appear ; the latter was called to the chair. Extreme precaution prevailed among them in the adoption of any plan how to act, as the sword and bayonet hardly became as yet unemployed, from the terror which the alarmists had diffused in consequence of the serious attempt at revolution made by the patriotic Emmet. Mr. Ryan having been assailed and suspected of self-considerations from his correspondence with Mr. Fox, the zeal and ardor of the Roman Catholic people began to subside into a dormant inactivity.

March 13, a numerous meeting of Catholics took place at the Repository in Stephen's-green ; Mr. Val. O'Connor was called to the chair. This being an aggregate meeting, a resolution was passed, expressive of their opinion concerning meetings in private houses, where public opinion could not be collected. The fol-

\* Mr. Ryan was maternal uncle to Mrs. O'Kelly of 30, Richmond-place, Summer-hill.—*P. O'K.*

lowing was the tenor of it. "Resolved, that the holding of meetings at any private house for the general concerns of the Catholic body, is unfavourable to the freedom of discussion, and inadequate to the collection of public sentiment."

A law called the Convention Act was passed in 1793, and was still an object of serious apprehension to the Roman Catholics : it was possible under it to cause any member or members of any committee named by the Catholics to be arrested and committed to prison. Notwithstanding the danger which that Act contained, numerous addresses were presented to the Duke of Bedford by the Roman Catholic people of Ireland. Congratulatory addresses came in from the different corporations, all of one general tendency, referring to the government of his Excellency's grandfather, and expressive of national confidence in the name of Russell.

The nation in general anticipated from the spirit and fortune of the Duke of Bedford a display of splendor and hospitality which had not for many years graced the Castle. The latter part of Lord Hardwicke's administration had been marked by restrictions in the viceregal expenditures which wore the appearance of the meanest parsimony. They were usually placed to the account of the economising directions of Dr. Lindsay, the Scotch prelate of Kildare. An address was presented to the new Chancellor, Mr. George Ponsonby, by the Munster bar, of which he was a member. On 10th April, the best return (he said) which he could make, was a pledge that he would discharge his duties with diligence and integrity. The Irish bar met on 29th, and decided upon a similar address as the Munster bar had done.\*

The Irish fairly appreciate the good will and sincerity of their rulers, by their conduct to those who cordially espouse the people's cause. Mr. Curran opened his political career by making his country's cause his own.

\* Plowden, Vol. II, p. 334.

Upon no occasion, under no menace, danger, persecution, promise or temptation did he ever qualify his principles, moderate his zeal, or relax his energies for the people.

September 13, 1806, Mr. Fox, one of Ireland's best and most steady friends, died. This event caused universal regret among the Irish Catholics. An eminent biographer of his writes as follows. "During his arduous career in politics Mr. Fox was never guilty of the slightest tergiversation, and withstood the most powerful lures to apostacy. He better knew than all his cotemporaries the principles, views, and interests of foreign states. The system of Irish government, which he invariably deprecated, was radically mischievous and vicious; and the Irish claims, which he unceasingly supported, were founded on the immutable principles of right, justice, and enlightened policy."

1806, the return of Lord Lauderdale to London, upon the unsuccessful termination of British negotiation with France, a dissolution of Parliament speedily followed. In the new elections for Irish members, the Catholics of Dublin were able to return Mr. Grattan for their city. All expenses attendant on the election of this illustrious patriot were laudably defrayed by his Catholic constituents.

On 13th December, 1806, the new Imperial Parliament met and was opened by Commission. The Chancellor read the King's speech, in which nothing touching upon Ireland or its sufferings was introduced. Every measure of state which related to the Continent or affected the prosecution of the war, as formally excluded Ireland from being committed or interested in it, as if no part of the sinews or supplies of warfare were furnished from Ireland. The death of Mr. Fox, and the consequent decay of public confidence in the ministry, the total failure of the negotiations for peace, and increased urgency for recruiting the army and navy, incalculably enhanced the consequence of Ireland in the

eyes of the government, who knew more of that inexhaustible hive of war than they were willing to proclaim.

The open conduct of the Irish Catholics, in the intermediate time, affords a strong lesson to the Irish government upon the effects of the *governors* deceiving the *governed*. The advice of Lord Grenville to the Catholics, viz., to petition, session after session, till their prayer would be granted, was tenaciously adhered to. On the 12th January, 1807, a numerous Catholic meeting at the Star and Garter, Essex-street, took place, John Keogh, Esq., in the chair; it was resolved, "that this appears to us a proper period to present a petition to Parliament, on the part of the Roman Catholics of this city and of Ireland, and that five persons chosen by ballot do wait upon the secretary of the Irish government, to know if it be the intention of the King's ministers to support a Bill for the relief of the Catholics." The following names were then selected and appointed to act; Lord French, John Keogh, William Murphy, Matthew O'Connor, and John Lube, Esqrs. The Secretary, Mr. Elliott, and the Chancellor, Mr. Ponsonby, afforded the wished for interview, and the result made known at the next Catholic meeting held on 7th February, at the Star and Garter, Essex-street.

Among the various discussions which occurred in the Catholic meeting of February 7th, 1807, the following is peculiarly deserving of notice. "In every walk of life we are reminded of our want of protection, and of our degradation: our opulent merchants shut out from the Bank, our traders from corporations, our persecutors not unfrequently subsheriffs, selecting juries of their own principles to decide on our properties, and even on our lives: it is from this deplorable state we apply for relief. Would any of the great religious sects in England be content, were they in a similar state of oppression? would those of the established church? or the Methodists? or the Evangelists? Would the Presbyterians of Scotland be content, if a handful of

men seized their lands, burned their houses, banished multitudes by mere force, without pretended crime, or trial or form of law, and were told that all this was loyalty. If their country were attacked, would the gallant men of Scotland risk their lives in defence of such a system of tyranny? Our grievance is, that many men beneath us in birth, education, morals, and fortune, are allowed to trample upon us."

The Earl of Fingall in the chair, it was decided, that this meeting be adjourned to Monday, 9th Inst., and then will join the meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, to be held at D'Arcy's tavern in Earl-street, which met accordingly, and again unanimously called the Earl of Fingall to the chair; the following resolutions were adopted. 1st. That it is a fit time to present a petition to Parliament on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland. 2nd. That the twenty-one gentlemen who have already met to prepare a petition, be now appointed of the Committee to prepare a petition for the Catholics of Ireland. 3d. That the Catholic peers be of the Committee, and that the Committee do nominate twenty-one gentlemen to assist in preparing the petition, and that a list of their names be returned to the secretary, that they may be summoned as speedily as possible. 4th. That the Barons do also form a part of the Committee. 5th. That this meeting do, at its rising, adjourn to Tuesday 17th, then to receive the petition from the Committee. The following names composed it :—

Christopher Dillon Bellew	Thomas Dromgoole, M.D.
John Ignatius Burke	John Fallon
George Bryan	James Farrell
Gerrard William Baggot	Hugh Hamill
Mark Byrne	Peter Bodkin Hussey
Richard Caddle	John Keogh
Elias Corbally	Michael Keogh
Francis Cruise	John Lube
Thomas Dillon	Martin French Lynch
Malachy Donnellan	Francis Magan

Nicholas Mahon	Luke Plunket
Randal M'Donnell	Dominick Rice
John Mansfield	Philip Roche
William Murphy	Charles Ryan
James Nangle	Thomas Ryan
Daniel O'Connell	Edmund Sheil
Martin O'Connor	Edward Sheridan, M.D.
Owen O'Connor	Richard Strange
Purcel O'Gorman	Henry Taafe
John O'Shea	Thomas Wyse
Dominick O'Reilly	Edward Hay, Secretary.

During the discussion by the Committee, these topics formed its chief feature.

"It has been confidently asserted in England, that the Irish Catholics enjoy protection equally with every other class of subjects in their characters, properties, and lives. Whether civil rights were ever secure to the people of any country, who were divested of political power, would be, we believe, difficult to prove, but our destructive parties have put it beyond all question that so long as we shall be excluded from every share of political power, we cannot be secured in our civil rights. Our deputies represented to the secretary, that men such as those who compose this meeting, and have their homes, fortunes, servants, carriages, comforts, and luxuries of life, were not, in any country, the promoters of disturbance. The men of property the Government may depend upon : but they are the few. Their physical strength is as nothing, unless followed by the population. Our object is, to attach that population by interest and by affection to the throne and the Empire ; and we are bold to say, *that single measure, and that alone*, (see the fallacious quotation of Pitt as given at bottom) *will render the Empire invincible.*"\*

\* Non mihi regna peto ; paribus se legibus ambæ  
Invictæ gentes, æterna in federa mittant. *Virgil, Æneid.*

“Is the throne benefited by our being oppressed by an Irish junto? Certainly not. Does any one individual in Great Britain derive a benefit by our exclusion? No, not one. Both the throne and people of England are materially injured by it. What then is our crime? let the world listen to and hear with astonishment British philosophy and liberality. Our forefathers embraced Christianity in the fifth century. The Creed which they received, we adhere to: that is our crime! yet this is the same creed which the great Alfred held, the best and greatest prince that ever adorned the throne of England. It was the creed of the Edwards and Henrys who humbled and conquered France; and it is the creed we profess.”

“The Catholics seek no diminution of taxes, they cheerfully contribute their full quota to the exigencies of the state; they do not solicit any peculiar privilege. The extent of our supplication is to be governed, punished, or protected by the same laws with every other class of his majesty’s subjects. We entreat that privileges may be granted to loyalty and heroism, not to creeds; that all may have equal interest to perpetuate the constitution, or to die in its defence. Shameful falsehoods to our disadvantage are propagated; witness Sir Richard Musgrave’s fabrications and reveries, imposed on England as Gospel truths.”

“Our services are passed unnoticed or smothered. No minister or ministerial print proclaims how greatly we increase the armies; how our numbers crowd all his Majesty’s fleets; that under our gallant and beloved countryman, Lord Hutchinson,\* our brethren had a distinguished share in the conquest of Egypt, that we furnished a full proportion of the heroes of Trafalgar and Calabria; and we now offer to shed our last drop of blood in defence of the throne and empire. And do these services merit degradation? are the heroes of

\* Plowden, Vol. II, p. 433.

Egypt, Calabria, Trafalgar, and their posterity yet unborn, to be proscribed? It cannot be.

“If Mr. Pitt were now in power, how justly would the present ministers reprobate his dangerous infatuation, as hazarding the ruin of the Empire entrusted to his care. They might call on Parliament to turn their thoughts to the Continent, and to reflect that when Buonaparte returned from Egypt, he found France torn piecemeal by factions. La Vendee was then exposed to martial law, free quarters, and the torture; ready to join the invader and shake off their tyrants. He suppressed the factions, protected the rights of conscience to all sects, put an end to persecution; and the insurgents of La Vendee became attached to the government that protected them. From thence to Geneva, from Holland to Saxony, through all the confederated states and kingdoms of Germany, persecution and disqualification on account of creeds are abolished. The sect which was oppressed under the old system, whether Lutheran, Catholic, or Calvinist, is now every where raised to equal privileges with their fellow subjects; no sect is proscribed, or shut out from his councils, senate or armies. Thus this meteor flies over Europe, and by rescuing men from the effects of ancient bigotry and intolerance, as much as by his arms, he promotes or secures his astonishing and alarming conquests.”

“If there were now no law in force to disqualify Catholics on account of their religious creed, if all sects were now equally eligible to the privileges of the Constitution, and that loyalty and not modes of faith were the criterion of merit, and that it were now proposed in Parliament to enact laws to disqualify four millions of Catholics and their posterity for ever; how would such a proposal be reprobated in Parliament? Would it not be said that a law to disqualify was a law to discontent or to disaffect the party disgraced? That the united zeal and valour of every subject would be

necessary to repel the mighty force of our formidable enemy ; but to give substantial cause for discontent to four millions of brave and hardy subjects, was worse than phrenzy ; that it bespoke venality, and if any wretch were base enough to wish to see these united countries become provinces to France, such must be his plan to accomplish it ; such a plan must be the utmost wish of Talleyrand and Buonaparte, who dread that Catholic emancipation would unite the empire, and render it invincible ; but to make or continue a law to expel four millions of Catholics and their posterity from the constitution, will gratify every traitor to the king, to his heir, and to the empire."

March 6th, 1807, the Catholic secretary, Edward Hay, Esq., truly indefatigable in their cause, wrote to the most influential of the Catholic gentlemen to procure signatures, urging the necessity of emancipation, and recommending unanimity among themselves ; letting them understand that the opportunity of petitioning would be but short, whereas it was already known that the Parliament would be prorogued early that year.

Twelve months had already elapsed since the coalesced ministry had been in power, and although Ireland had been but little satisfied with their exertions in her favor, one debt of gratitude to them was due, viz. the suspension of the habeas corpus act allowed to run out. They (the Irish) had then passed the last 12 years in melancholy subserviency to the caprice and malignity of their persecutors, under the power and infliction of that same act, which had expired.

On 18th of April, 1803, a general and very important meeting of the Catholics took place at the Exhibition Room, William-street ; the Earl of Fingall in the chair. Mr Grattan's letter was read, in which he urged the prudence and necessity of not pressing their petition to the two Houses of Parliament, in consequence of the change of ministry which had taken place. The

late ministry resigned because they would not pledge themselves to relinquish altogether their intentions of bringing forward the claims of the Catholics then or subsequently : however, the greater portion of the Catholics would not be guided by Mr. Grattan's suggestions, and after a very lengthened debate, in which Mr. Keogh,\* Mr. Hussey, O'Gorman and O'Connell took prominent parts, it was agreed, that the Earl of Fingall should wait upon the Duke of Bedford, with an address from the Roman Catholics expressive of their deep regret at his Grace's departure from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland ; the answer was most gracious, and well received by the people ; the Catholic Committee was then dissolved, and had ceased to act.

The Duke of Bedford, throughout the whole of his Government, accorded with the principles, upon which, at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Fox, he had originally accepted it.

He was mild and benevolent to all. Cordial and anxious for the welfare and happiness of the people, he lamented that the progress towards their attainment had not kept pace with his sympathies or expectations.

Hence the benevolence and frankness of his disposition received a check, under a consciousness of failure in becoming the successful instrument of the people's bliss. It was evident that he became weary of lending his name to measures repugnant to the principles upon which he had entered into office, and he was determined to give in his resignation.

On Sunday the 19th of April, 1807, the Duke of Richmond's arrival at the Pidgeon House, Dublin, was announced by the firing of a Royal salute of Artillery, and the ringing of the joy-bells of the city ; the troops of the garrison were immediately called out, and the carriages of the Duke of Bedford, escorted by a squadron of Cavalry, were dispatched for the con-

\* Plowden, Vol. II., p. 524.

veyance of the new Lord Lieutenant to Dublin Castle, where he arrived about eleven o'clock ; a privy council had been previously summoned to meet at three o'clock that day. The Duke of Bedford soon arrived after the Duke of Richmond, in the Castle of Dublin, from the Phoenix Park, where these two Dukes had a private audience: after this the Duke of Bedford held a levee in the presence Chamber, where the Duke of Richmond was introduced in form.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

The Duke of Richmond sworn in Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—The Duke of Bedford departs for England: the people manifest deep regret at his departure.—May 24, 1809, a numerous assemblage of Catholics was convened in William-street.—Lords Fingall and Gormanstown.—O'Connell now made his first efforts for Emancipation.—A lengthened encomium, by Wise, on Lord Fingall.—Lord French amusingly described by the same author.—Lord Trimleston copied by his manners and accent, the French mode of acting.—The character and person of Counsellor Scully ably given and displayed: his work on the defences of Ireland noticed.—Clinch and Dromgoole described.—Counsellor Hussey's character given.—The Veto eagerly sought for by the Ministry, commented upon and condemned.—The Richmond administration.—Orders issued to arrest delegates appointed to attend the Catholic Committee.—Many of the leading Catholics were arrested by a warrant from Judge Downes.—Judge Downes and the Catholic Committee involved in law against each other.—The cause of the Catholics triumphed, but their triumph was of short duration.—Dr. Sheridan brought to trial, but was acquitted.—The Government party prevailed.—The hopes from the victory which had been gained were frustrated in the end.—The opportunity of arranging by compromise was lost to the people by imprudence.—The Catholic Committee ceased to exist: the name only became changed, and the Catholic Board was formed to act afterwards.—The Veto still the topic of debate and dispute.—The English partial to the Veto.—Resolution fifth from the English Catholics.—The Irish clergy and laity opposed to the Veto.—The Pope in the hands and power of Bonaparte.—Cardinal Quarantotti.—The Catholic Board. In 1814 the fall of Bonaparte influenced England in their measures towards Ireland.—Bonaparte's escape from Elba.—The spirit of the clergy and people became depressed, and suffered their former energies in favour of Emancipation to subside.—August 17, 1821. King George IV. arrived in Dublin.—Great enthusiasm and joy appeared

to prevail.—O'Connell and O'Gorman.—The Catholic Leaders and the Corporation.—Great concord and union of the citizens were manifest.—Kingstown thus called from the King having embarked there for England.—Lord Sydmouth's letter, on the part of the King, to the people.

The Duke of Bedford then proceeded in state to the Council Chamber, the Earl of Arran carrying the mace, and the Earl of Harrington the sword of state, the Duke of Richmond following. The Duke of Bedford being seated at the head of the Council Board, and the King's commission appointing the Duke of Richmond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, having been read, he was sworn in accordingly and took his place at the head of the Council Board.

On Tuesday, 21st, after a levee which was splendidly attended, the Duke and Duchess of Bedford in separate carriages, proceeded from the Castle to the place of embarkation. The streets through which they passed were lined with the military. On their way the populace, unable to command their feelings, or to express them in a more appropriate manner, took the horses from the carriages, and drew the viceregal pair to the water side.

The Duke of Richmond accompanied them.

On 24th May, 1809, a more numerous meeting was convened in William-street, half under aristocratic pretension, and mercantile interest, but better than that of January 1808, and in its organisation more perfect.

For the guidance of future proceedings, a committee *pro tem.* consisting of materials from former meetings, was constituted: public exertions were directed to an uniform and permanent purpose: Catholic weight and power increased.\*

During the summer nothing of importance occurred.

The general Committee met on 8th. November and agreed to petition: they continued during the succeeding year, to act under the same form, and in conducting measures for their relief. In 1810 meetings, at the

\* Wyse, Vol. I., p. 143.

assizes time, occurred throughout the counties of the south. New men with fresh feelings started up, and among them O'Connell : to him the cause of emancipation is obviously due : as a Catholic Barrister he fed with fire the passions of the multitude. Lords Fingall, Gormanstown, French, with a few baronets, generally graced their meetings and filled the chair. Wyse, in his work on Catholic Emancipation, speaks thus of Lord Fingal :—

“Lord Fingall had all the better peculiarities of his order; from his placid lips an unworthy complaint never burst forth : his countenance, full of benignity, was the pleasing index of his mind. He possessed the firmness and honor of a true gentleman and sterling patriot.”

“Lord Gormanstown possessed in some measure the calm mind and moderate policy of Lord Fingal.

The temper and sobriety of both their characters, placed in a singular relief, the bold and rudely fashioned temperament of Lord French. There was nothing of the nobleman in him: his mind and body were in strict unison and of marvellous felicity to each other.

Of gigantic stature, rough in dress and manners, the people viewed him with amazement, and in his absence, they willingly forgot that he had ever been amongst them.”

“Lord Trimleston falls next under the pen of Mr. Wyse.\* “The French Revolution had burst on him in the middle of a circle of polished and chosen friends: his person, his manners, his accent were extravagantly French. Such a man had no clue to the popular mind : he had little in common with Irishmen ; they spoke different idioms ; they could not understand each other. He occasionally attended public meetings ; but his name more than his presence was sought after.”

“The committee and sub-committee generally

\* p. 150.

exercised the motives, the desires, and interest of the Irish Catholic body, but were controlled and directed by the men of business, the barristers. Among these Scully\* formed a prominent feature. He was grave, cautious, secret and profound. His work on the *Penal Laws* is the work of a constitutionalist and a philosopher, as well as of a lawyer; it is admitted to be the most able exposure of the anti-social code, ever submitted to the public. Mr. Scully was no orator; his person was unfavourable; low, squat, clumsy, it could only be redeemed from physical defects by the general cast of his countenance. The prominent nose and broad forehead were forgotten in his general contour which, some said, were likened to Napoleon's, but in real character, two faces could not be imagined, more absolutely opposed. Scully employed public speaking as the means only—the carrying of the measure was the end.

Among the serviceable men who co-operated with Mr. Scully, Mr. Hussey is particularly noticed: he was a ready every day speaker. He had the talent of a clever rifleman: was expert at a sudden sarcasm; there was something singularly Hibernian in the matter of this man: he looked, smiled, and acted the brogue: with all this he had many merits, he was an admirable political colleague.

Counsellor Clinch and Doctor Dromgoole come next into Wyse's important production. The former is compared to Ajax in the *Iliad*: he seldom succeeded in his deep logic, and in his proposals and amendments, his success fell to the bottom. The doctor on the other hand, made use of the councils, the fathers, the dusty library of ancient controversy, as his weapons for attack and defence.

The simple Latin word *veto* implies a matter of a very serious character of politics during 1808 and

\* His work on the Natural Defences of Ireland is important.

1809; the word itself simply signifies *I forbid*, which would invest in the Crown the power of annulling or ratifying the appointment of the Irish Hierarchy, a measure which would by its venal influence creep into the very sanctuary of the priesthood. God ordained it otherwise.

The *veto* after years of discussion, was abandoned as a word of reproach to those who will ever again advocate its adoption.

The Convention act passed in 1793, had been originally framed by Lord Clare, with a view to break up the organisation of the United Irishmen. It had now lain dormant for 18 years, and the catholics had been permitted to collect and express the will of their body in any way most agreeable to themselves. Their internal differences did not interrupt the public tranquillity. However, under the Richmond administration, their proceedings were watched with a more strict decision.

It was at length decided by the government, to act with a final decision.

February 12th, 1811, a circular letter was directed, and dated, Dublin Castle, by Mr. W. Wellesley Pole, to all sheriffs and magistrates throughout Ireland, to arrest all persons connected, in any way, with appointing delegates to the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland.

This futile and base attempt to stifle the Catholic voice was compared to the wisdom of Xerxes attempting, with iron fetters, to chain the sea.

The Catholics resisted in the only way then practicable, viz. in their individual capacity: the country was indifferent between stupid hope and still more stupid fear.

Lord Fingall and several members of the Committee, adhered to their plan, of acting in opposition to Secretary Pole's proclamation. They were arrested by virtue of a warrant from Chief Justice Downes, and gave bail.

The question of the right of Delegation, for the purposes of petitioning was thus brought into court and solemnly submitted to the adjudication of a jury.

It was a great and important question, involving considerations of the highest interest to the constitutional rights of the subject. The country pleaded on one side, and the Castle on the other. Juries were packed with more than ordinary profligacy.\* Quibbles were ransacked from every bad precedent of arbitrary power.

Yet all was ineffectual : by a miracle rare under any government, but almost unheard of in Ireland, the country at last prevailed. Either the law was too clear for even the obsequious commentators of the Castle, or party spirit for a moment conceded its animosities to the assertion of a common franchise. Dr. Sheridan and Mr. Kirman, the gentlemen who had been put upon their defence, were acquitted by a Dublin verdict, and the question seemed for a moment to be set at rest.

But the victor, as is often the case, marred the victory in the moment of its having been gained, by his own folly and imprudence. The verdict of a jury restored to the Catholics their right of delegation, and they had a noble and dignified course to pursue. Triumph, however, the flush and vanity of an unexpected success, hurried them on to a new contest and a certain defeat.

The counter-prosecutions against the Chief Justice Downes, might honourably and easily have been got rid of : a compromise extorted from the fears, or sanctioned with the approbation of the ruling powers, would have established the then unquestioned privileges of the Catholics, had they not rashly put to hazard, by evil precedent, the very highest rights of the citizen. It was ruled otherwise—the attack was pushed on with vigour : the existence of the party was involved in the safety of the individual : all constitutional considerations disappeared : the point in struggle was the credit of a faction. What reasonable man who measures life by living things, and reads facts and not theories, could for an instant doubt of the result. The case was tried

\* Government became notorious for tampering with Juries and attempting to impede the course of justice and of law.

a second time in the person of the Chief Justice : judgment was given against the Catholics :—the judgment was intended to be appealed against, but the Catholics lost spirit, and the demurrers were not even argued. Thus the victory which they had obtained at first, was reversed. The Committee was scattered, delegation annihilated, and a common liberty sacrificed, by the indiscretion of individuals, to the chicane and corruption of an arrogant and offended party.

The disorganised state into which the body was immediately thrown by the arbitrary construction of a very dubious text, for a time affected the proceedings of the Catholics. They soon recovered their stupefaction : the general Committee had indeed separated, and delegation even for the purposes of petition, been declared highly penal, but the spirit which brought that body originally together, and had given shape and form to these elements when there was much less affinity between them, still survived, and soon built up a new structure from the fragments of the old one : out of a voluntary assemblage of the former members, deprecating however with the greatest caution every thing which could be construed into a representative character, arose a new association under an altered title, the body remaining virtually the same : the minister had accomplished nothing more than the changing one appellation into that of another : the Catholic Committee had become the *Catholic Board*.

The Catholics had thus foiled the minister, and would have rapidly foiled, like the minister, all other enemies who opposed them, had it not been for their friends and for themselves.

The only obstacles, really such, which they had ever to encounter in their course, proceeded exclusively from the same source : from their enemies they had drawn only strength and courage. But the dissensions, which had been so largely extended on the *veto* question, in despite of present depression and despondency, continued unsubdued. At a period when all ought to

have been union and concord, the hostile political parties employed every means which lay within their reach to sustain the internal conflict. The English vetoists kept up constant communications with their friends in Ireland. In 1810 a resolution strongly declaratory of their opinions (the joint suggestion of Lord Grenville and Lord Grey) was circulated amongst the body. It was replaced by a resolution since notorious in English and Irish Catholic politics, under the name of the 5th resolution of the English Catholics. It was inserted in their petition to the legislature, and signed by the great mass of the English Catholic clergy and laity.\*

The Irish Catholics were extremely divided: the clergy unanimously, and much the majority of laity, still retained their opposition to the measure: but the aristocracy for the most part were favorable to it: during the year 1811, these differences with slight variations continued.

The dissensions of the body were seized and taken possession of both by friends and opponents.

Their friends in Parliament eulogised the measure; their enemies made it the *sine qua non* of their emancipation. The situation in which the Pope stood was urged as an additional argument.

He was then in the hands of the French Emperor, and presumed to be under the immediate control of our Arch enemy—The English Cabinet. In 1812 and 1813 the same scene of unavailing discord prevailed.

Application was finally made to the pope, and in his absence, Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal Quarantotti, addressed in 1814 his celebrated letter to Dr. Poynter, which, instead of calming, added only new fuel to their dissensions.

Every bearing of the measure continued to be argued

\* The wording of the resolution is very vague, and might appear perfectly innoxious to persons unacquainted with the *animus* which dictated it. The petition was signed by the four Apostolic Vicars and two coadjutors, eight peers, thirteen baronets, and eight thousand gentlemen, including three hundred clergymen.—Wyse, Vol. 1., p. 121.

by Protestants and Catholics, both in and out of Parliament, with an acerbity scarcely known in the earliest discussions of the question.

Emancipation seemed to be immeasurably distant ; those who advocated the veto, sold the future for the present : above all, there was no apology for disunion : it was treason—it was blindness—and worse than all, it was very nearly suicide. The Catholic Board soon sunk into a noisy and debating club, exhibiting to their adversaries an evidence only of the incorrigible propensity to feud and division which had so long disgraced the Catholic body. The sudden changes in foreign affairs increased this depression. England was no longer awed by the apprehensions of invasion.

Napoleon had fallen in 1814 : and though a momentary gleam of hope seemed to have returned by his escape from Elba, it fled with the same rapidity with which it came.

The component portions of their assembly had flown back to their original situations ; the aristocracy, the clergy, the merchant, had all revolved into their respective classes. The very opposite and balanced forces had produced rest ; they crouched and slept ; their very friends sickened at the unavailing attempt to raise to a level with other citizens a caste now apparently inferior ; they gave the task up in despair ; a truce of silence was struck ; the Whig was to enjoy the cheap reputation of liberality, and the Catholic was not to mar with injudicious complaint the political views or influence of the Whig. The Catholic spirit had totally passed away, the dead body remained.

On August 17th, 1821, the King entered Dublin amidst the acclamations of the citizens. Every thing looked happiness, harmony and good order. Mr. O'Connell and O'Gorman were, at the head of the Catholics, the first to offer their greetings of welcome to his Majesty. Catholics and Protestants both looked upon this royal

visit as an augury of happiness. "*Idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est,*" i. e. to wish and not to wish the same, portends a solid friendship. Reconciliation dinners were given—and meetings held, in which the Catholic leaders on one side, and the corporation leaders on the other, pledged themselves solemnly to an oblivion of all past differences, and to a union of exertion in future to benefit their common country.

Every where the King was hailed with popular enthusiasm. On his departure from their shores, where Kingstown now stands, so called from his embarkation there, a farewell letter was written by Lord Sydmouth, expressive of his Majesty's deep pleasure at the manner in which all ranks had received him in Dublin, and at his leaving them.

This appearance of good will expressed no complaints for the two succeeding years, but matters were then looking delusive and that no good was intended to be conferred by the royal visit.

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### CHAPTER XXX.

Accidental Meeting of O'Connell and Sheil; subsequently about twenty gentlemen assembled at Dempsey's Tavern; from there and thence began the Catholic Association.—Many outrages committed in the County Limerick were allayed by the Catholic Association; Lords Killeen, Gormanstown, and Kenmare, assisted to forward the efforts of the Association.—The Catholic Peerage and Gentry imparted mutual confidence and support; the Village Magistrate dreaded the Association.—The Catholic Rent of One Penny per month now commenced; the implicit confidence infused by this adopted plan of paying this rent was visible monthly.—The change produced by the collection of the Catholic Rent caused surprise throughout Ireland; 1782 contrasted.—Public Banquets became frequent in the large towns; in Waterford the public meeting was immense; in two years, 50,000 wearing green cockades and banners were assembled.—Foreign nations became interested for Ireland, and commented on the suffering of her people; a Census to ascertain the population was established; the Catholic Association and its results.—The Protestant ascendancy; the feelings of Englishmen towards Ireland in 1825.—The

Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant, insulted at the Theatre ; Public Meetings convened to express indignation.—A Public Dinner devised to be the most effectual means to oppose the Marquis of Waterford.—The Beresford Family possessed universal influence.—The Union ; after the Rebellion of '98, Beresford influence was diminished.—The old Marquis of Waterford ; Lord George Beresford ; Brothers, John Claudius Beresford.—Mr. Stewart, as a friend to Catholics and people, was fixed upon to become Member for the County Waterford.—Mr. Stewart professed his willingness to stand firm for the people.

Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil met by accident in 1823, at the house of a common friend in the mountains of Wicklow : here and at that moment, commenced the determination of acting with vigour to rescue Ireland from her degraded state.

The first seeds of the Catholic Association were hardly perceptible ; ten or twenty individuals met in a retired room at Dempsey's tavern in Sackville-street, and resolved boldly to commence. The nucleus was formed, it increased ; every day presented an accession of new and enthusiastic members. It was thus that the first assemblies of the body had been gathered, but there was no comparison between the progress of the associations of 1760 and 1823.

The previous history of the body, the experience of past struggles and past success, gave them courage and an accession of strength. New habits with new facilities of thinking had grown up : the people were ripening fast for the share which they were to bear in the confederacy.\*

The verdict in the case of Downes precluded all delegation ; all former plans were therefore impracticable, a new principle, that of an open Club, without canvass or ballot, the members admissible on the *viva voce* proposal of a friend and the subscription of one pound, was adopted.

In the interval between the dissolution of the Board and the revival of the Association, the people had been left to themselves, to their own sense of grievance, and to their own mode of redress. Outrages, excesses of the

\* Tantummodo incepto opus est, cætera res expedit.—Sall.

i. e. a beginning is only requisite, the matter will accomplish the rest.

usual character of crime, desolated the South, and particularly portions of the county of Limerick.

The county was rich, the gentry resident, but the lower classes were numbered among the poorest in Ireland.

These local grievances were brought under the rule of peace and order by the interference of the Catholic Association : men deputed by this newly formed society, men whose names were revered by the people, had influence enough to persuade them to obey the laws and abstain from crime.

Lord Killeen, son of the Earl of Fingal, appeared at the meetings, and brought with him the accession of high rank, sound views, and a lofty spirit of independence.

Lord Gormanstown next followed ; Lord Kenmare contributed also with his purse and name. The energies of the people were considerably animated by the adhesion to their cause of numbers of the priesthood, who zealously encouraged the popular movement and became ardent cooperators for emancipation. The contributions of the one pound subscribers, were sufficient for the ordinary purposes of petition, but the views of the Association enlarged with the enlargement of the body itself.

The feeling of the people was awakened. They saw, in their own words, that something was to be done for them also. It was not a cold question of distant and doubtful advantage ; the readmission of the peerage or the gentry to the privileges of their order ; the extension of legal honours and emoluments to the Catholic barrister : but it was the strong and home assurance which every peasant felt, to receive instant protection against local wrongs, the redress of the laws against the law, the assisting hand in distress from a body in which he found the interpreter of his own sufferings, and the conviction that whilst others still sought their emancipation, his own had already been begun.

Every complaint was listened to, every injury was enquired after ; protection was promised, and the promise

made good with a precision and promptitude which they failed not to contrast with the slovenly and reluctant justice of his Majesty's Ministers. The decision of the Bench was almost second to the debate of the association : the village magistrate detested but feared it : the village peasant appealed to it and obeyed it. \*A fourth estate rose up in the kingdom, as powerful in many instances as the other three. This confidence once given, every thing else was easy, for the " Irish are indeed a tractable nation and though they have often resisted chains of iron, they can be easily conducted by a kindly hand with a silken thread." It was necessary to support these efforts for their liberation : the people knew it, and came forward spontaneously with their offerings.

The moment was propitious ; it was seized. The contribution of a penny per month was proposed by Mr. O'Connell ; it was instantly adopted ; every man hurried to cast his mite into the treasury of a body from which he felt assured it would return to him in ten-fold benefits.

Every peasant in Ireland, every Catholic inhabitant, from the child of seven to the grand-father of seventy, was invited to contribute ; and thus arose in a few weeks the *Catholic rent*.

The contribution was for *palpable* and direct purposes, intelligible to, and felt by, the people ; the connexion between the *tax* and the good produced was understood ; it was not levied but offered ; it was voluntary and not forced. It increased singularly ; the momentum of that impetus which the association had communicated to the entire body.

It was not only, that positive suffering was removed or that Catholic power was augmented by so large an accession of its funds ; a new means of binding the people in an open and visible fraternity which extended from one end of Ireland to the other, was obtained.

Every farthing added a link to the chain : the con-

\* Wyse's Hist. Ass. p. 205, Vol I.

tributors were the creditors, and the creditors were necessarily the partisans of the association. Every where the *rent* raised a subsidiary association ; the rent collection settled into a system ; the collectors became the disciplined as the rent contributors were the irregular troops of the Association. A spirit of keen enquiry, of just observation, of untiring watchfulness, was suddenly evoked. There came upon the popular mind a new, a powerful appetite at once. The Association engrossed the attention of multitudes at once. Its proceedings became elevated by the consciousness of its position. It guided the people and thus raised itself in raising the people. In the short space of two years, what had long defied the anxious exertions of all preceding bodies, was tranquilly accomplished.

It is difficult to paint to a stranger, it is unnecessary to paint to a witness, the spirit of extraordinary enthusiasm which burst forth at that period throughout all Ireland. It was the beginning of a totally new order of things. The right path to emancipation was discerned. Every one went down zealously and fearlessly into it. The days of 1782 seemed returning with a brighter radiance on the nation ; but wiser far than the volunteers, their descendants determined to retrieve the errors of their fathers, and to emancipate not by halves, but totally and permanently, and for all the people.\* The Catholic clergy became about this time less active, from which circumstance the people began to lose that energy which they lately manifested : but neither party, either laymen or priest, continued long as silent spectators of the grand object to be attained—emancipation, the ultimate object of all Provincial meetings took place in certain towns where the inhabitants of the distant neighbourhoods might come together and end their meetings with a public banquet.

It was decided upon that a provincial meeting in the

\* Wyse. Vol, I p. 211.

month of August 1825, should take place in Waterford, in the Catholic Church of the city. It is one of the most imposing Catholic structures in Ireland : the day was fine, and the people arrived in crowds from every part of the province. O'Connell soon appeared on the platform. The enthusiastic cheering exceeded belief, and his harangue told most favourably in pointing out to the people how they should act in pursuing the attainment of their freedom and their rights. Two years afterwards, Clonmel was the scene of an equal display of numbers, as that of Waterford : according to the News-papers of the town, no fewer than 50,000 were to be seen wearing green calico, green cockades in every hat, mostly well mounted, and with all appearance of a national army : excellent order and good conduct prevailed.

Foreign nations became interested, and commented with justice on Ireland and her people. The cause of the Irish was descanted upon throughout Europe. Till that period in other countries, little was known of Ireland or her hardships. Her question assumed importance in the eyes of every civilised nation, it was pleaded before all mankind : many of these advantages arose out of the Census : till the period of its introduction, the details of Catholic grievance and Catholic strength, were comparatively unknown.

Such was the moral preparation of the Catholic portion of the inhabitants for the great events which were so soon to follow. They were not the exploits of a day or the sudden consequences of an impulse to which the Catholic mind had inadvertently been forced, but the results of a great system of political education which had been going on with astonishing rapidity under the auspices of the Catholic Association. Had they not occurred then, they would have occurred later ; the germ was in the popular mind, and under some form or other it would soon have developed itself : it could not have much longer brooked either opposition or delay.

The habitual contempt with which the Protestants regarded the contentions and declamations of the Catholics, rendered the Protestant Ascendancy, as is the case with all Ascendancies, inattentive, ignorant, and incredulous. They termed their union, a rope of sand. Power had gone out from the Ascendancy, and, like the guardian genii of Alexandria when the city was on the eve of falling into the hands of the enemy, was heard passing away in rebuke and sorrow. From a quarter the least suspected, came the assault.

The Englishman who remembered the contumelies flung by friend and foe upon the degraded freeholders in 1825, could not believe it possible, that from a source so corrupt, could arise any hope or aid in the great struggle for Catholic liberty. The same causes,—the same vices in the nature of the tenure, the same tyranny in the landlord :—the same depression and debasement in the tenant, were still supposed to exist. "*Nobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo*," as Virgil represents Fama, so did the Catholic Association gain strength and numbers, as they marched along.

In the county of Waterford the revolution commenced. The Marquess of Wellesley had been publicly assaulted in the theatre, and addresses had been prepared and presented on his escape. The insult to the exalted individual, and the high office which he filled, required and justified those expressions of public indignation. Waterford was not backward, a requisition numerously and respectably signed, praying, that a county meeting might be immediately convened, was presented to the High Sheriff. He, unfortunately for himself and his party, was then at Curraghmore, the seat of the Marquess of Waterford.

The High Sheriff refused the prayer of the requisitionists. The other Magistrates of the county were then applied to. Several Magistrates, and amongst them twelve Protestants, stepped forward. A public dinner expressive of the approbation of the Catholics was

given to the twelve honest Protestant Magistrates. This dinner was the seed of all the events which arose. Every circumstance connected with the rejection of the requisition had now transpired, and the house of Curraghmore, the hereditary opponent of the Catholics, was denounced in language which found an echo in every heart. The general election was fast approaching; it was deemed a favourable opportunity of visiting them for the first time with the fullest expression of Catholic indignation. Before the party broke up, a meeting was called for the purpose of devising the best measures for securing in future the popular representation of the county.

The county of Waterford had now for more than seventy years been represented by the Beresfords; nothing could more strongly mark the degradation of the Catholics. Here was a constituency nearly in the proportion of forty-one Catholics to every Protestant, and a candidate openly avowing on the hustings, election after election, his undisguised hostility to their rightful claims. In England such a perfect discordancy between the electors and the elected, could not have been endured. The matter in Ireland hardly excited attention, much less reproach. The long continuance of the penal laws had rendered it natural. The franchise had been conceded by the aristocracy in 1793, for the use of the aristocracy; the Catholic freeholders had up to that moment fully justified the sagacity of their masters.

In the County Waterford the people felt oppressed under the Beresford family. The memory of '98 was still festering in the wounds caused by the disasters of that eventful year, and the name of John Claudius Beresford sounded in the ears of Irishmen as an ally of the arch-informer, Tom Reynolds. Such was the character of the Beresford family, to which was added that of the Duke of Devonshire, that it was thought no efforts could prevail against them.

A Mr. Stuart was fixed upon as the only one whom

the people could select calculated to oppose the Beresford influence ; he was on his route to Italy, and travelling in the Tyrol ; he was found, and obeyed the call and wishes of the County Waterford constituents : at his landing he received, with dignified acknowledgments, the congratulations of the citizens of Waterford.

A paper warfare had already commenced, and the Protestant ascendancy party applied all their energies to render prostrate all attempts of Mr. Stuart and his partizans : the liberals, however, backed by the people, and the people strong in number, eventually succeeded. The Catholic Association were assailed as demagogues by the Beresford adherents. O'Connell, being the prominent and acting agent for Mr. Stuart, the electors clung to him, and his favoured candidate, Mr. Stuart. Their opponents, many of them being extensive landlords, kept their tenantry apart from their neighbours, lest they should co-operate against them in favour of Mr. Stuart and O'Connell. After five days of hard fighting on both sides, Lord George surrendered the contest and withdrew : Mr. Stuart was then announced to be the duly elected representative.

The elections of Waterford being ended, the peaceful demeanour of the people caused joy and satisfaction to the Catholic Association : their hopes were strengthened by these occurrences, that Catholic emancipation must quickly follow. Louth, Monaghan, and Westmeath, soon imitated the example of Waterford. The forty shilling free-holders gained new triumphs, but gained for themselves persecutions and expulsion : in many parts where love of freedom and of their country prevailed, their landlords who were of the ascendancy party devised and plotted their destruction. The Catholic Association, however, were not remiss on their side to aid the dispossessed and persecuted against the tyranny of their landlords.

To bring the whole kingdom into general action, Mr. Sheil suggested the necessity of every parish in Ireland

to convene Meetings, state their grievances, and prepare their petitions, all to be done on one and the same Sunday. On 21st January, 1828, 1500 meetings were held, at which, by computation, one million and a half of persons attended. In France and America, great indignation against England for her oppression and misrule over Ireland, was manifest. In New York, Washington, Boston and other cities of the United States, similar meetings were held, large sums of money collected and forwarded to relieve the persecuted forty shilling freeholders. Among the subscribers was to be viewed the name of General Jackson, President of the United States, and annexed to it 1,000 dollars : he had been the son of an expatriated Irishman, and was born in Canada : this same General Jackson defeated an army of England, sent to destroy (after their boasted of, but fallaciously\* won, victory of Waterloo) the freedom of America.

A general commotion, if excited, would sweep like a torrent all before it : clergy, laity, great and small, would be irresistibly involved ; and volcano-like, beneath their feet, every effort to allay its danger and effects must be unavailing. Ireland could not forget the innumerable injuries which had been inflicted, "*injuria lata non moritur.*" Lord Liverpool having died, the premiership was conferred on Mr. Canning, which event added vigour to the hopes of the Catholics. Mr. Canning died soon after his appointment, and this melancholy event caused anew great despondence to the Roman Catholics. After him, Lord Goderich held the reins for a while, and he in his turn, was succeeded by the Duke of Wellington. Before the demise of Mr. Canning, he nominated the Marquis of Anglesea to be the Viceroy

\* I have been informed, when residing in Versailles, by a Rev. Mr. Guilmer, that General Grouchy, who commanded 20,000 troops under Buonaparte, as a reserve force, was bribed by the Duke of Wellington, through the agency of a Baltimore lady, afterwards the Marchioness Wellesley, to keep back his troops from the action, by which insidious means the battle of Waterloo was gained by Wellington.

of Ireland, which circumstance proved, in the event, to be more important to the attainment of Emancipation, than any other measure that had preceeded it, during a series of years.

The Marquis of Anglesea thought of the country first and of himself last ; mutual attachment and good will sprung up, and mutual confidence arose. The Cabinet became enlightened, and the people tranquillized. Under his rule those events contemplated to be done by Earl Fitzwilliam were matured and produced by the Marquis of Anglesea. The Catholic Association was permitted, under his wise and prudent sway, to co-operate with the several counties throughout the kingdom, invigorated and roused to seek their rights in a full measure of Emancipation. To county clubs succeeded parish clubs, all possessing confidence in the kind and dignified mode of government, evidently the happy result of how they were governed.

The old leaven of Orangeism was soon swelled into an alarm, and despite of the kind measures of Anglesea's administration, the Derry cry of *No Surrender* was revived. Clubs of an Orange character were speedily formed to counteract the hopes and efforts of the Roman Catholics, now happily working together for the full attainment of their rights. The Lord Lieutenant was allowed to be liberal, but the officers of Government possessed a *carte-blanche* upon which they became determined to act. In 1828, O'Connell calculated, that the population of Ireland amounted to ten millions, consisting of eight of Catholics, one and a half of Protestants and Dissenters, and half a million of Quakers.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

A representative for the county of Clare was soon after this needed. O'Connell and the Association speedily turned their thoughts to anticipate Emancipation itself, and O'Connell presented himself to represent that county in Parliament. He started for Ennis its chief town, where he was received with great joy and confidence that he would be admitted to sit as their M.P. in Parliament. In his efforts to accomplish this end, he was warmly opposed by Vesey Fitzgerald, who was candidate likewise for the representation of that county. The whole array of aristocratic power was with Fitzgerald. With O'Connell stood the people, aided by his own popularity. Tom Steele, Jack Lawless, O'Gorman Mahon & Co., canvassed the county of Clare before the elections commenced. The day of the elections at length arrived; the whole population of the county would appear to be assembled together, and it was believed, that thirty thousand persons *bivouacked* in the streets of Ennis the first night.

Temperance of a rigid kind, kept the people within their proper sphere of acting with effect; water, instead of whiskey, was their beverage, and thus peace and tranquillity were observed and kept. Four thousand troops and four pieces of Artillery were encamped around Ennis: there was no need for their aid. The forty shilling free-holders kept the peace more firmly than any military could accomplish. The landlords who brought in their tenants to vote, as they would dictate, were deserted in the moment of struggle. For five days the elections lasted, and on the sixth the High Sheriff declared, reluctantly, O'Connell to be duly elected as Member of Parliament for the county of Clare.

The elections of Clare being ended in favour of O'Connell, (strange phenomenon to the premier) a sensation was produced in England ; and Ireland became to be talked over in every circle. The seeds for emancipation had been now sown in the mind and thoughts of the Duke of Wellington, but to bring them to maturity was a theme that might be deemed impracticable and embarrassing. If O'Connell, being precluded by law from sitting in the House of Commons, as representative for the County Clare, was of serious consideration to the Catholic body ; however, they knew that nothing could prevent him from standing again for the same. Other counties might make similar efforts : thus the right of electing and obstructing members from their seats, might be rendered exceedingly difficult and embarrassing. A new penal law would be in the minds of those opposed to Emancipation resorted to, to prevent all Catholics from aspiring to be members, but this might prove to be a dangerous expedient, so much so, as would perhaps make the iron Duke himself tremble for its probable consequences.

A continued system of exclusion would be in the end unavailing : on the contrary, it might eventually lead to a total repeal of the Union, the most noxious of all the measures that have ever arisen to Ireland from her hard step-mother.

O'Connell's return to Dublin, after the Elections, was through Limerick : when arrived at the Stone, the memento of the Treaty, also the memento of its violation, his harangues produced universal cheers ; he travelled mostly by night ; but the people met him and received him with enthusiasm and joy.

On O'Connell's arrival at Kildare, the people removed the horses from his carriage and drew him triumphantly across the Curragh ; the day following he arrived in Dublin. The citizens began to participate ardently in the enthusiastic feelings of the people, evinced in all the towns as he passed from Clare, and poured forth their subscriptions to aid the past elections : Leinster,

Munster, and Connaught, contributed cheerfully, Ulster still kept back : all parts of the *black north* had inhaled (in a great measure) the principles of the Brunswick clubs, which had been excited and cherished to oppose Emancipation. It was decided upon to depute Mr *Jack* Lawless, as having been intimately known and conversant with that province, to proceed and act as a fit deputy to influence the province, to assist and co-operate.

Demonstrations and wishes for the scenes of 1798 sprung up anew amongst the Orange factions, and instead of being disarmed, an increase of their numbers and a great distribution of military weapons took place. Many members of the Catholic Association were opposed to send Mr. Lawless, knowing him to be naturally vehement in his harangues. The time and agent were inauspiciously fixed upon, but Jack Lawless proceeded upon his mission : at Kells and Dundalk meetings were held, and Mr. Lawless was so far successful as to excite an enthusiastic reception towards him. As he moved along, the Catholic rent was collected, even among many hitherto their opponents, and ardent wishes for emancipation were uttered from every mouth.

Ballybay was the point to which Lawless and his attendants were proceeding. It was supposed that one hundred and twenty thousand accompanied him hither ; the Orangemen were not remiss in their preparations to oppose, 5,800 had already met to oppose Mr. Lawless and his tumultuous assemblages, as they termed them : but on the following day, 15,000, it was asserted, would arrive from the Orange districts adjoining. This menacing aspect of things at Ballybay, was altogether unlike the crowds and forces of O'Connell at Waterford and Clare. The Black North, as it is usually termed, was long inured to hate the Catholic with a deadly avowal to his destruction and extermination. The Roman Catholics of Ulster, though thinly scattered, were not unmindful of the scenes of horror that were widely

spread throughout its counties, particularly those of Antrim and Armagh ; in 1797-98, \* the almost unheard-of cruelties perpetrated by the cruel rulers of our peaceful country (in times past and present) were not to be easily effaced from the Roman Catholic adherents of Mr. J. Lawless ; they too were prepared in mind to resist.

A single man bears, with difficulty, an insult, a hundred thousand would certainly not bear its shadow, or intimation : a collision would have been inevitable, a single shot would suffice for that end. In one day the whole of the North would be up, and would the South look on tamely and timidly ? Mr. Lawless, viewing the alarming appearances around him, leaped out of his carriage, mounted quickly a grey horse which was at hand, and dashing through numerous crowds, he escaped : the assembled multitudes returned to their homes with deep disappointment. The Catholic Association had now another weighty task to perform ; a society called Ribbonmen was first formed in the County of Donegal. The Orange societies there became alarming towards the Catholic inhabitants, and these, from a spirit of mutual protection, became associated and were secretly linked together for mutual defence. This latter principle soon increased and ramified itself, and extended its influence and contagion into Clare, Limerick, Waterford, and Tipperary. Tom Steele and O'Gorman Mahon, by the directions of the Catholic Association, undertook to pacify the disturbed districts.

In the neighbourhood of Clogheen, on the borders of Waterford and Tipperary, sixteen parishes were summoned to meet and they obeyed. They marched in military array with bands of music, bearing the portrait of O'Connell ; they mostly wore green shirts made of green calico outside of their dress. One house in

\* It was rumoured, that the day previous they had marked the clans of many who had been obnoxious, for destruction ; that a priest was to head the projected attack, &c., but the Irish Catholic has been long accustomed to these calumnies.

Cork, supplied that article to the amount of £600 : each parish bore their respective banners, with the name and locality inscribed. The people generally imagined that O'Connell in summoning the masses, must have had, besides emancipation, some ulterior object in view, and that they would be soon summoned by O'Connell to an insurrectionary movement : they frequently muttered among themselves and in the streets of Clonmel, "when will he call us out." Mr. Ellis, Master in Chancery, Sergeant Lefroy, John Claudius Beresford, and others, frequently expressed a desire for a recurrence of '98.

The denunciation and defiance were answered by a counter demonstration and defiance on the part of the Catholics. An insult was offered to a Tipperary priest, by a policeman, during one of the processions of the people : the people were roused, and tore down the police-barracks.

From various circumstances, and outrages committed by the factions of Orangemen and Ribbonmen, Ireland had been so convulsed, apprehensions on the part of Government caused an increase of the army in Ireland, and troops arrived accordingly from England. A regiment of Fusileers arrived in Waterford from Bath at a moment's warning. This regiment was principally recruited from Irishmen. On their arrival, they manifested great interestedness for the cause of O'Connell, other regiments were similarly disposed ; these things had not passed unnoticed by the Ministerialists, and they began to weigh with the Duke, and incline him towards Emancipation.

Exclusive dealing became, about the period of pressing their claims, a matter of debate with the Catholic Association : the debates concerning its expediency were numerous and prolonged. Had the resolution passed into a measure, and had the measure been carried into effect, neither the arms of the king, nor the anathemas of the Church, nor the parchment of the law, could have prevented, in a few months, the total disorganisa-

tion of Irish society, and reduced the minister to the alternative of either a war of extermination, or a hurried and reluctant concession of Catholic claims.

The first idea of this tremendous instrument was suggested by the non-intercourse resolutions of 1782. The proposition was brought before the Association by a respectable Catholic solicitor, Mr. Forde ; but, as it was then understood, under the sanction and cognizance of Mr. O'Connell. After some discussion it was deemed right, that the sense of the country should be taken, and the question was for a considerable period adjourned. The Government, awakened to the alarming results which would necessarily have followed, from so abrupt an interference with all the commercial and finally all the social relations of both countries, judiciously took such measures, in private, as might tend to neutralise or defer the impending danger.

Ireland, ere the arm of the most vigilant Government could have interposed, would have been stained and deluged with Irish blood. A proclamation appeared, and added new force to the address of the Association. Without it, the country would have been still exposed to all the horrors of riot and insurrection. It would have been in the power of three or four hundred Orangemen to produce an insurrection. They had but to attack, the Catholics would have resisted—between attack and resistance, the work would have been commenced. To support the Edict of Government, troops would be poured into Ireland ; they would be unnecessary in the south.

When the Catholic Association had somewhat recovered from the tumult into which these perilous experiments had involved them, they began to congratulate themselves on their happy escape. The greatest evil which could have befallen them was another dangerous attempt to suppress the Association. The fire that would enkindle it, "*tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*, —i.e. it is a matter of concern to you, when your neighbour's

house is on fire ;" et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires ; i. e. and fires if neglected become stronger and more *violent* : coercive measures would follow ; the Habeas Corpus act would be suspended ; multiplied arrests would succeed ; vindictive trials, inevitable anarchy, and very probably a civil war : an augmentation of troops, nay, 100,000 men, might be required.

Lord Cloncurry appeared in the Association and argued with great force against the principle of exclusive dealing. December 11th was fixed upon for its final decision. The rooms of the Association were filled at an early hour, and crowds assembled outside to hear the result. Mr. O'Gorman opposed the adoption of the measure, and after a debate of six hours, it was negatived. The Brunswick and Orange factions, emboldened by the Protestant Archbishop Magee of Dublin, painfully and tyrannically exercised their bigotry and exclusion against Catholic servants. This excited indignation on the part of the people. In 1828, it was warmly suggested to attack the provincial banks, to pour their paper into them, and effect thereby their insolvency. One in the County of Wexford was marked out for vengeance, and would have fallen beneath the pressure, but for timely aid from England.

Bankruptcies would have been consequently multiplied in every direction : trade would have become perfectly stagnant ; a similar fate would await agriculture. To these evils the frenzy of religious hate and animosity, new rancours arising through political separation, and revenge anticipating a general convulsion. From all these well grounded apprehensions, what could prevent the Irish nation from crumbling to pieces by some fierce and sudden effort to accomplish the independence of Ireland ? The very fear of such a catastrophe, would require as many precautions and expenditure as the reality itself.

There was an obvious falling off of Protestant sympathy from 1825 to the middle of 1828. There had been

no attempt to repeat the meetings of 1819, or the petitions of Grand Juries, Counties, &c. &c. The attendance also on Catholic dinners was much less frequent, less numerous, and less respectable. Compare the first provincial meeting of Munster with the last. Even the Protestant petition of 1827, had but a few hundred signatures. In the summer of 1828, Protestant feeling had reached its lowest ebb. Another circumstance which added much to this reserve, was the inconsistency with which Protestant support was treated by the Catholics themselves. At one time they viewed it with contempt, as if six millions of men cordially united, had not in their own hands, the sure and simple means of their final liberation,

No more glaring instance could be contemplated of the debasement which had been entailed upon everything Catholic by the penal Code. Every man who felt within himself the sentiment of what freedom really was, though not in possession of the gift, must have blushed at this deep national humiliation. The character of some among our countrymen assuming the name of Liberals, is thus sketched by one of the writers upon emancipation. "Many usurped the name with but little title to the reality. Many superciliously volunteered their counsels, but insulted by a tardy and capricious assistance." Such was the situation of many Protestants who avowed themselves favourable to the concession of the Catholic claims.

A society for the improvement of Ireland was set on foot, and commenced its sittings in the Mansion House under the auspices of the Lord Mayor. It was open to all sects and all classes : no great consequence was attached to it in the beginning : over its very cradle, they prophesied an useless and ephemeral existence. After an inefficient series of meetings during which various plans of improvement were proposed—among them the drainage of the bogs, and a ship canal was among the leading features of their discussions—the members

who composed the society began to relax in their efforts, the Catholic question absorbing every other topic of the day.

On February 6, 1829, the king's speech conveyed the gratifying intelligence, that the question was to be brought before Parliament in order to bring the Catholic claims to a final issue. This measure of grace was to be preceded by a suppression of the Catholic Association, and an end to all political societies. The people voluntarily submitted. The Brunswick Clubs hoped, that when the intended Bill would come before the Lords, it would be rejected, and consequently that resistance would arise on the side of the people, and a renewal of '98 brought about. The Marquis of Anglesea continued inflexibly attached to the people and the country which he had ruled; gave his advice in the Cabinet to grant Emancipation with a good grace, and thus to reconcile the aggrieved party; many days had not elapsed, when Mr. Peel brought in the Bill for every concession to be granted to the Catholics, and on that principle, noble and philosophic, this new Magna Charta was to repose.

A majority of 105 appeared in the House of Lords in favour of the measure, and on the 13th April, 1829, it received the Royal assent. Thus was ended, after a struggle of more than half a century, a noble cause, founded, like the abolition of the slave trade, on every principle of justice.

Ireland was not yet known, and was despised. All information of her wants came through political channels. It was not then by sleep and apathy, acquiescence and dutiful behaviour, that she obtained her legitimate station, and her ancient birthright;—but it was—and let nations listen and learn, for it is a great and instructive lesson to those who sit still in bondage—it was by the unceasing importunity at the debtor's gate, by the outstretched and firm arm in demand of natural

rights—by the untiring clamour for redress—by the determined resolve never, never to lie down in patient slavery, whatever might ensue ; it was by this that she acquired her freedom, and it was by this that she deserved to acquire it.

Washington did not make America, but America made Washington. “If Philip be dead,” says the Athenian orator, “your errors will soon raise you up another Philip.” The English constitution was known only by its vices, and England by her oppressions. All these were great evils, but these evils became a good.

Despotism has no right to enjoy tranquillity. It was not the Irish legislature, but the giant of the French Revolution, who came, saw, and conquered for the Catholics.

The panic passed, and the rebellion of 1798 once more gave back to the orange Protestants, that ascendancy which they were on the point of losing. In despotisms everything is obscurity, mystery, suspicion, fear. The people can never be known to the prince, nor the prince to the people.

The whole civilized world seemed gradually closing round to witness the coming conflict. Such witnesses could not long abstain, under so many exciting circumstances, from becoming allies, and from allies participators in the contest ; to repel the enormous evil the means of the English government were altogether inadequate.

The finances were sinking under a series of revolutions—violent and unexpected—arising from the anomalies in the currency, the free trade and the corn question. Public opinion was evincing more and more, the sense of its own strength, recurrence to brute force was becoming every hour more inevitable. In such a struggle, so rude and so sudden, it may be well doubted whether any modern minister could be successful.

What had they to check it? the army: but the army, since 1815, had become an army of citizens; it would not be relied on as a mere passive instrument.

The army being principally recruited in Ireland, was more than half Irish, half papist. In an Irish Catholic war, such a weapon would, at once, have snapt asunder. The Duke of Wellington knew this, and knew it well, and knowing it he saw that he had no choice. The stern and iron hand of necessity was his opponents. The minister saw in time necessity pressing on him; he seized and applied it.

The swell and roll, the consequences of storm, continue to be felt and perceived although the storm may cease to blow: the calm succeeds, and the affrighted seaman looks out for a safe harbour in which to repose.

The forty shilling freeholders were admitted to vote, in order to conciliate the nerve and sinew of the people of Ireland. Without them as a back, the aristocratic population could justly say with Horace, "*nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati*," i.e. we are a mere number born to consume the fruits of the earth. Among the many abuses pursued in Ireland by grand juries in the levying of taxes, poor rates, vestry complotments, &c., none is viewed with a more jealous eye, than the Protestant Church—exactions: for every other exaction, there is an appearance of a "*quid pro quo*," i.e., something for something: but in this there is nothing.

The following is by a Frenchman:—\*

"I assisted, October 8, 1826, at a meeting held at Ballinasloe, and the day following, these observations sprung up and have been committed to the portfolio. It is now more than 100 years since Cromwell denounced the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland, pointing out to them hell or Connaught for their abode. It may be

\* Monsieur Duvergier, accompanied by the Duke of Montebello and the Messrs. Thoyer, made a tour in Ireland in 1826.

said, that this denunciation has served as a rule that has been practised towards them by every authority which succeeded and succeeds Cromwell. In Ireland there have been two nations, the conquerors and the conquered : these the progress of time would have blended together, had not English policy kept them asunder. It is thus that unhappy Ireland bears two races essentially distinct ; the one commands, the other obeys ; the one suffers, the other enjoys ; except in some of her cities, the classes which form the strength and ornament of society, are not to be found. There is nothing between the master and the slave, between the cabin and the palace. The conquest created them, oppression has maintained them. O'Connell and Sheil fly from province to province ; from meeting to meeting. Every where they are received with enthusiasm. Every where their eloquence rouses the Milesians to a sense of their strength and degradation. On the borders of Connaught, in the small town of Ballinasloe, there is held annually a fair where 120,000 sheep, and 40,000 horned cattle, are brought to market. The farmers of Connaught come to sell, the farmers of Leinster to buy. There from the most distant parts a crowd is assembled as if to hold a general congress. The Catholics could not choose a better season, nor a better theatre. If the ancient Eryn still exists in any part of the country, it is to be found in Connaught. Situated in the most remote part of Ireland, the last subdued and at different periods assigned as a prison to the conquered population. This province, more than any other, has preserved its ancient religion, and its ancient language. There at an earlier period than in any other part of Ireland, was gradually found a class of independent gentry, whose belief and interests were strictly identified with those of the majority of the people.

“ It is this gentry who assembled yesterday, in immense

crowds at the meeting of Ballinasloe ; Emancipation full, total, and unconditional, is at present the unanimous cry of six millions of men. One would be inclined to say, that this single word contained within itself, the panacea for all the sufferings of Ireland. For the Catholic proprietor it signified a seat in Parliament, for the lawyer a silk gown, for the poor, bread. In the midst of this fever of hope, the wise statesman well knows that the effects of so many ages of oppression are not to be got rid of in a day ; but he also knows that, without Emancipation, nothing can be done, and he gives all his exertions to what is calculated to obtain it. We are no longer in the times of Helotism,\* and to exist in peace on the small soil, it is necessary, that all should be in the enjoyment of the same rights. In France a child is capable of understanding this : but in this country of England, in other particulars so enlightened, there are men who still continue to deny it. For the honor of their intellect let us hope.... but on them must depend the choice.

“ An old chapel without any ornament, whitewashed and half in ruins ; before the altar a platform rudely constructed ; on the left a gallery for the men ; another for the women on the right. On the platform about two hundred country gentlemen, in a sort of morning dress which is not without its pretensions, and in every other part of the chapel, a peasant population, of a savage aspect, and a picturesque costume. Such was the singular spectacle which was the first presented to me at the great meeting of Ballinasloe. After having called, as is customary, the most distinguished individual to the chair, and chosen the most intelligent for secretary, the proceedings were opened ; the most profound silence prevailed, and a series of resolutions

\* A Greek phrase signifying a hewer of wood and drawer of water, which words imply slavery.

prepared the day before, were successively submitted to the assembly. The recollection which I had of the country gentlemen of Lancashire, gave me some reason to underrate the eloquence of the country gentlemen of Connaught.

"Whilst one of the speakers was engaged in deploring the perfidy of England, and recalling to his auditors the menacing attitude of America, loud applauses burst forth. It was Mr. Sheil appeared on the platform, and his unexpected presence produced this electric shock. Were I permitted to take down the *signalement* of Mr. Sheil, *this* would be very nearly the result. Five feet, eyes quick and piercing, complexion pale ; chin pointed, hair dark, and in adding, *mouth middle-sized*. I flatter myself I should have given a description not to be excelled in exactness at the *bureau-des-passportes* : but this is the portrait of the *gentleman*, that of the *orator* is widely diverse. When you behold that little gascon figure in repose, it is impossible to suspect to what changes passion is capable of converting it.

"There is in Sheil, something of Juvenal, of Pindar, of Mirabeau. His satire is shrewd and biting ; his poetry dazzles ; his enthusiasm carries you away.

"His gesture is quick, abrupt, and rather disorderly : but it is always in accord with the sentiment he has to express. Sheil possesses in an eminent degree the surprising facility of exerting himself to the very verge of delirium without once losing his complete self-possession. I was at his side while speaking, and more than once I saw all his limbs tremble under him ; a moment after he resumed the discussion with no less composure than ingenuity. Like the English, whom in other particulars he so little resembles, Sheil is too fond of quotations ; certain passages in bad taste, it may also be observed, occasionally disfigure the best of his speeches ; and in general it has been remarked that, both in elocution and diction, there is too much of the theatre about him.

These reproaches have an appearance of being too well founded, and more than once I imagined I had Kean's figure before me. In a word, I was seduced and dazzled, and all present apparently the same. During an hour the soul of Sheil seemed to animate the whole mass : and occasionally it would seem that an electric shock had convulsed them." What would the Bishop of Hermopolis say to the following propositions? 1st. "the state should have no established religion ; it should preserve its neutrality between them all. 2nd. Salvation is possible in all religions, providing you believe, honestly and sincerely, the religion you profess to be the best. 3d. To attempt seizing it with a view to disturb in a direct manner the religion of others, in class or sect, which would be to disturb in a direct manner the order of society. 4th. The spirit of proselytism is deserving of censure. Each creed or sect ought to remain quiet within its own limits. 5th. To keep the clergy virtuous, it is necessary to keep them poor. Make them rich, and you corrupt them."

O'Connell's picture now from the pen of this French biographer of Sheil's just quoted. O'Connell, *the glory of Kerry and pride of Munster*.

"In his person he is tall ; his appearance is imposing ; his countenance full of frankness, though somewhat bordering on the vulgar ; and when he speaks, his physiognomy is changeable as his imagination expresses many different passions ; words, gesture, accent, all are produced at once. If he threaten, his entire figure seems ready to follow the defiance which he hurls against the power of England : if he indulge in a trait of humour, before it is yet upon his lips an expansive gaiety already radiates from all his features. I know of no living orator who communicates so thoroughly to his audience the idea of the most profound and absolute conviction. Sheil, in fine, is the brilliant man, O'Connell the man of business in the Association. Though a lawyer in the

first business in Dublin, he is always the first and the last at these meetings ; he runs thither on quitting the Four Courts, and if by chance he be delayed upon the way, no one thinks of taking his place. It is he who brings forward all motions, who directs the discussion, and carries every question he thinks proper to propose.

"Popularity, an inordinate love of popularity, is his ruling passion : he is its absolute slave : if he were to lose it, he would instantly die. With the exception of an ardent attachment to his country, he is not deemed in other particulars a man of steady principles. It has been remarked that in him there has been observed a variety of characters. When, in 1821, the King visited Ireland, O'Connell was a faithful dancer in the anti-chamber of the monarch. The green ribbon, which he wore as a memorial of his having been the chief of the liberators, was an emblem of his weakness : in the view of the French he was the Chateaubriand of Ireland. Known personally to the Irish peasantry, he possessed something of their manners, their language, and even of their brogue.

"O'Connell was a glass in which Ireland could view herself reflected. In vain, cries he, 'they enact their laws against us; these laws we will brave, and the Catholics of Ireland will never cease their meetings until Emancipation will be fully granted : Emancipation, full, total, entire, without condition or qualification whatsoever. In the hour of prosperity, England has scorned the application of the Irish suppliant, in the hour only of danger will she deign to listen to us. Let us hope, for bankruptcy is at her door : let us hope, for she is humbled !'"

From time to time the Protestant papers are very vociferous on the subject of a few conversions, bought by weight of gold, or obtained through the agonies of hunger ; but the fever appears, the Catholic priest is immediately recalled.

## IRISH EDUCATION.

Ireland is said at an early period to have been the centre of the education of Europe. Bede, William of Malmsbury, Camden, &c., bear ample testimony to her intellectual superiority. Her scholars were known and celebrated over the Continent. The Universities of Paris, Pavia, Oxford, Cambridge, &c., are said to have been founded by Irishmen. The University of Dublin, which is generally ascribed to Elizabeth, was commenced by Joannes Leelurs, under the auspices of Clement, and afterwards completed by Alexander Bignor, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1329, with the approbation of Pope John XXII; but the Convent and College of Mayo enjoyed a much higher degree of celebrity.

This was founded about 665, and was exclusively dedicated to the education of strangers. Though in a remote part of Ireland, it contained, at one time, two thousand English, foreign monks, and students. The son of Alfred is reckoned among the number. His ashes are said to repose among its ruins. At the Reformation, no less than 1,000 literary institutions, connected in general with monastic establishments, were destroyed. But instruction was not quite extinguished. This achievement was reserved for the penal laws. What had not been effected by the confiscations of James I., the faithlessness of Charles I., the ingratitude of Charles II., was finally accomplished by the anti-education code which immediately followed the conquest of William Prince of Orange.

The 7th of William and Mary enacted that no person of the Popish religion should publicly teach a school under a penalty of £20, and three months' imprisonment. The child who went abroad for education forfeited all the goods, chattels, and lands, to which he might become entitled by inheritance; the father who sent him incurred also the same forfeiture.

In 1730, Primate Boulter suggested the system of Charter Schools : the objects in view are best explained in his own words. "I can assure you," says he, "the Papists are here so numerous that it highly concerns us, in point of interest, as well as out of concern for the *salvation of these poor creatures, who are our fellow subjects, to try all possible means to bring them and theirs over to the knowledge of the true religion*, and one of the most likely methods we can think of, is, if possible, by instructing and converting the young generation ; for instead of converting those that are adults, we are daily losing many of our meaner people, who go off to Popery"—yet the penal code had now endured for fifty years.

The system sketched by Boulter was filled up in 1734. The anti-Catholic schools started into existence. A Baron Vryhouven bestowed upon them £56,000 ; an anonymous benefactor gave them £40,000 ; certain estates were bequeathed to them by the Earl of Ranelagh, and other bequests were given them. Besides these they received in parliamentary grants upwards of one million, and their total expenditure in ninety years is stated by the Commissioners of Education themselves, in their late Report, to have exceeded one millicn.

The eyes of Europe and America being fixed upon the state of Catholicity in Ireland, we deem it prudent to give to the world how the Catholic Church is maintained by a faithful body of the communion, whom neither the power of Court influence nor the power of gold, could ever dissuade from adhering firmly to the doctrine of their ancestors, and maintaining the Episcopal dignity and holy priesthood in the paths of the primitive doctrine of their glorious patron, St. Patrick.

The Roman Catholic Church of Ireland is composed of four Archbishops and twenty-two Bishops. The Archbishops take their titles, as in the Established Church, from Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. Of

the Bishops, eight are suffragans of Armagh, and are those of Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, Kilmore, Meath, and Raphoe. Dublin has but three suffragans, Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare, and Ossory. Six are suffragans to Cashel, viz. Ardfert and Aghadoe, Cloyne and Ross, Cork, Killaloe, Limerick, Waterford, and Lismore. Four are subject to Tuam, viz. Athenry, Elphin, Clonfert, and Killaloe. There are besides these the Bishops of the united diocesses of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora ; the one in Connaught, the other in Munster, who is alternately suffragan of Tuam and Cashel.

As in the Established Church, we also have a dignitary in Galway called a *Warden*, who has nearly an episcopal jurisdiction, and is no further subject to higher powers, than that he is liable to a triennial visitation of the Archbishop of Tuam.

The emoluments of the Bishops arise from three sources, which are usually the best parish in the diocese, the licenses, and the *cathedraticum*.

The license is a dispensation granted by the bishop, in the publication of banns, for which a sum not less than a crown, and according to the means of the parties, sometimes half-a-guniea or a guniea is paid : and as it very seldom happens that the parties are inclined to have the banns published, the generality are married by license. The *cathedraticum* is a yearly sum, generally from two to ten guineas, given by each parish priest to the bishop, in proportion to the value of his parish, for supporting the episcopal dignity.

#### THE FAMINE.

Destitution already prevailing extensively in Ireland, contributed to the effects of the failure of the potatoe crop in 1847 ; a society of Quakers, at the head of whom stood Mr. Joseph Bewley, formed among themselves a committee to investigate the causes that over-

whelmed the land, and to make efforts to alleviate the distresses of the people.

In the early stages of the calamity, the poor-houses were more like alms-houses and hospitals than asylums for the distressed. To obtain admission for the innumerable applicants, was extremely difficult. The taxes that were levied to sustain these establishments, were exceedingly burdensome and hard to be borne by the rate-payers, and a resistance to pay, was evinced by many.

In various districts funds were afforded by Government to undertake public works, for the relief of the labouring classes ; this gave partial aid to the suffering poor, but inadequate to assist all who needed it. In chapters 1, 2, 3, of a work named "*Society of Friends*," may be viewed much interesting matter, concerning the effects of the famine. In chapters 4, 5, will be seen the great and extensive efforts made in America, to send succour to suffering Ireland both in money, provisions, and clothing : in Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania, the first contribution raised in the United States, was £15,976 : 18 : 2, and immediately forwarded to Ireland : this noble example was followed throughout the Union, and provisions shipped in vessels, free of freight, were speedily consigned to the committee of *Friends*, for general distribution. 9,910 tons of meal, corn, pork, and bacon, all valued to be worth £133,847 : 7 : 7, in 1846, 1847, had been forwarded to Ireland. The people of England subscribed largely to assist the Irish people at this awful crisis, and in many of the British Settlements, money was raised and forwarded to suffering Ireland. In chapter 6 it is admitted that the sufferings and wants exceeded, by far, all that had been given and received.

The power of the Deity manifested itself by destroying with thunder and lightning the entire of the potatoe crop.

The following anecdote of O'Connell's career must be now introduced :—

Saturday, May 31, 1845, being the day appointed by Mr. O'Connell to hold his "levee," to commemorate the liberation from prison of "the repeal martyrs," the trades of Dublin, who were to form the procession, assembled in the vicinity of Richmond Bridewell, shortly after 11 o'clock, and from thence proceeded to the Rotunda, through the various streets that intervened.

The vehicles, temperance bands, employed in public demonstrations, were in requisition. The different trades, represented by members of their bodies in carriages with six horses, followed by their respective bands, wore military caps and feathers. When the band of the "Skinners" reached the Bridewell, they played, "Should *auld* acquaintance be forgot," to the air

"If you blame my deep dejection,  
Teach oh! teach me to forget."

Mr. Steele attired in his '82 Club dress, rode out to the prison, shortly before the departure of the procession, to make the necessary arrangements for its progress, and about 1 o'clock, it moved slowly on, the various bands striking up the air which suited their taste.

The windows of the houses (as the procession moved) appeared densely crowded, chiefly by females; in various places, the very house tops had their possessors on the occasion. The only novelty in the affair, was the display of lances, *a la militaire*, borne by the bricklayers, and another body of the trades. The leaders of the poulterers carried battle-axes as their *batons*. The chimney sweepers were headed by an equestrian, who wore *a fac simile* of the pointed Irish crown in green and gold. The coal porters mustered in considerable numbers.

Three pipers dressed in Highland costume, added their quota of discord to the Dutch concert which was kept up on the line of march.

Shortly after 12 o'clock, the members of the eighty-two club, dressed in their green and gold liveries, assembled in pursuance of the arrangements previously made, in the pillar-room of the Rotunda, to adopt an address to be presented to Mr. O'Connell and his fellow traversers at the levee, and to appoint a deputation to present it. There was about one hundred and fifty members present. The following was the address presented:—

“We, the undersigned, being convinced that good government and wise legislation can be permanently secured to the Irish people only through the instrumentality of an Irish Legislature, do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to our country and to each other, that we will never desist from seeking the repeal of the Legislative Union with England by all peaceable, moral and constitutional means, until the parliament be restored to Ireland. Dated this 30th May, 1845.”

Upon entering the room, Mr. O'Connell and his fellow traversers took up their position on the platform, and were loudly cheered by the ladies present, who occupied one half of the room, which was very tastefully decorated with lances and banners, having the usual repeal motto, and a large water-color painting of the Bank of Ireland over the chair, with the inscription—“Remember the 30th May, 1844.”

On that day their trial ended, and sentence passed upon them by the court.

Mr. O'Connell came forward to the front of the platform, accompanied by the other traversers in the late state prosecutions, and was received with loud shouts and cheers. When silence was observed, the learned gentleman said,—“Ladies and Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the splendid manifestation of public feeling which you have displayed this day. It would be difficult for me to find words to convey to you the deep sensations that fill my mind when I consider the strange transactions that have taken place from the 30th of May, 1844, to

the 30th of May, 1845. (Cheers.) The consideration of those circumstances fills my thoughts with delight and pride ; but there is a higher thought that presses upon me which requires no eloquence to describe, and I see it now inscribed upon one of our banners, 'Ireland will be a nation.' (Great applause.) As well might the Government imagine that, by stopping the motion of the clock which is above that motto, that they could check the mighty movement which is now going on in this country, and control the spirit and love of father-land which is now aroused, as they could prevent by their late conduct the restoration of the Irish parliament. Nothing can prevent it. There is a different understanding this day between all parties, from what existed this day twelve months, for upon the day of 30th May, 1844, I and my fellow prisoners around me were, under an unjust sentence, confined in a prison. I say unjust and iniquitous, because the first tribunal in the land declared it to be so. Upon this day twelve months we were surrounded by the police with drawn swords, and of what avail would these swords have been if we had an intention to violate the law, or create a disturbance? A child with a wand, if it were so ordained by the tribunal which tried us, could conduct me to prison.

"The law, therefore, until pronounced by a higher tribunal than that which had tried us, has been pronounced illegal and unjust, still it has been obeyed. As we proceeded to prison men were seen to weep ; but why ? not from fear of meeting a foe, but from pure and tender feeling for the men who advocated with fearless intrepidity the cause of Ireland, endeavouring to rescue her from an unjust and tyrannic rule : there is an all-seeing Providence which will, at no distant day, rescue Ireland from English domination," Mr. O'Connell continued. "This is a great day for Ireland : a day of triumph, of just exultation. A day of victory over the most malignant attempt to crush public discussion—to deprive the

people of their right, and to incarcerate their leaders. They sent me to gaol for loving Ireland. I do love Ireland above all countries. I love her cheerful, her merry—temperate—moral—and brave population. I admire every class of her society, and I rise from the perusal of the reports of strangers, and exult in the character which they give to the Irish. What are the words of Sir James Graham in his acknowledgment of the Irish character and their sufferings? ‘The most moral population in the world are the people of Ireland. The men are honest and the women pure and true.’ He admitted that trade had diminished, occupation had lessened, wages had become smaller year after year, poverty and distress had reached the working classes, and the farming population was in a state of distress, misery, and destitution unparalleled. What was the remedy? they will teach you your letters and have academies, but you will have nothing to eat. There is but one remedy, and that is the Repeal of the Union: we will and must have it. And if the Protestant and Roman Catholic stand together shoulder to shoulder, we will and must carry the repeal. It would keep in Ireland six millions of pounds: it would leave in Ireland £500,000 to be spent every month—250,000 to be spent every fortnight, £125,000 every week: let that fructify, and there is no man who would want employment. Have we not as good a title to enjoy our own land as any other nation have to theirs? I am satisfied to leave England to the English, and Scotland to the Scotch, but we must have Ireland for the Irish.”











